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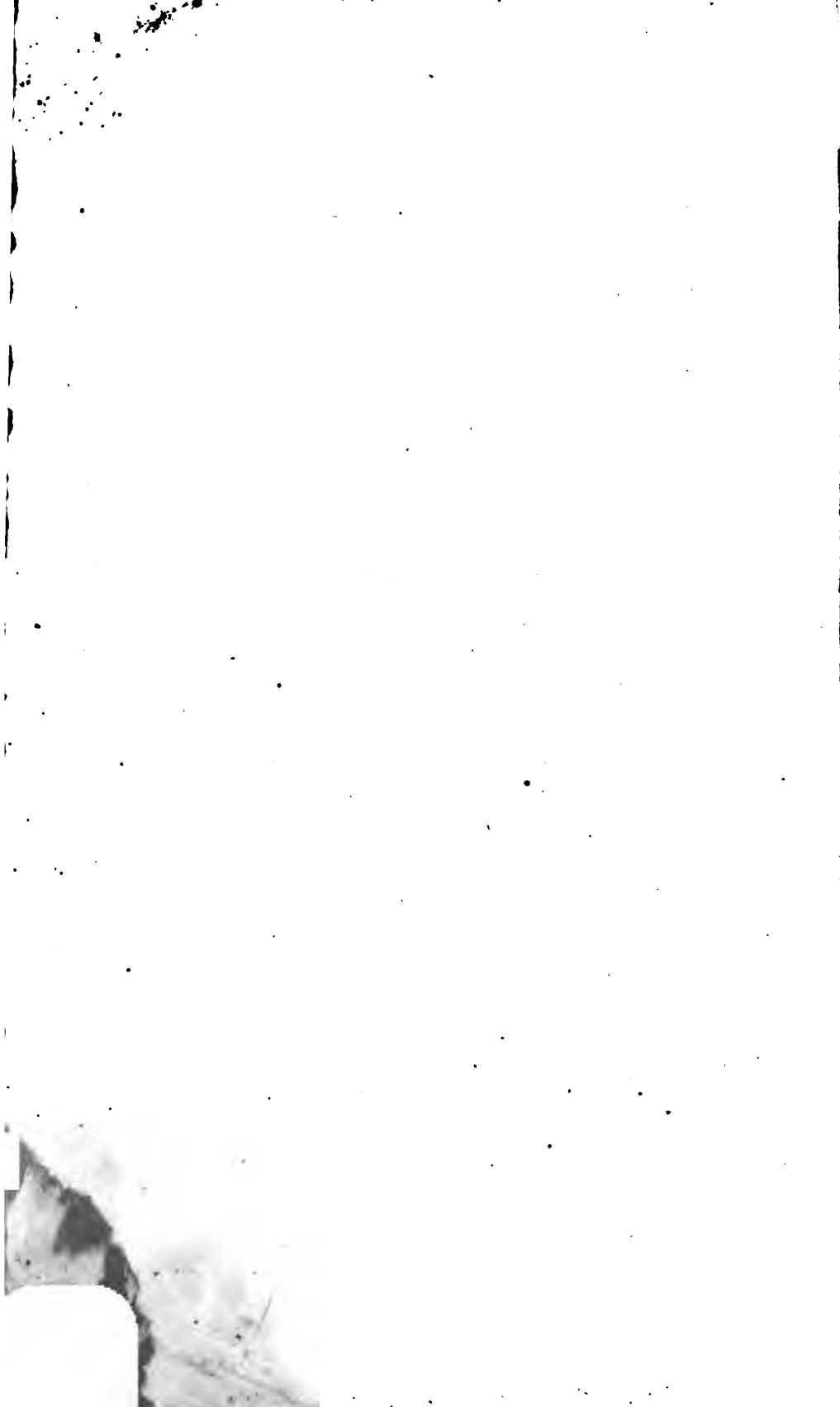
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A

# REPLY

TO

## THE REVIEW

*Of Dr. Wyatt's Sermon and Mr. Sparks's Letters*

ON THE

## PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,

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"Founded in truth ; by blood of martyrdom  
Cemented ; by the hands of wisdom reared  
In beauty of holiness ; with ordered pomp,  
Decent and unreprieved."

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BOSTON :

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11

A  
**REPLY**

TO

**THE REVIEW**

*Of Dr. Wyatt's Sermon and Mr. Sparks's Letters*

ON THE

**PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,**

WHICH ORIGINALLY APPEARED

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AND SUBSEQUENTLY,

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BY A PROTESTANT EPISCOPALIAN.

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"Founded in truth ; by blood of martyrdom  
Cemented ; by the hands of wisdom reared  
In beauty of holiness ; with ordered pomp,  
Decent and unreprieved."

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R. P. & C. WILLIAMS, CORNHILL-SQUARE,  
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1821.

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"A Reply to the Review of Dr. Wyatt's Sermon and Mr. Sparks's Letters on the Protestant Episcopal Church, which originally appeared in the Christian Disciple at Boston, and subsequently in a separate form at Baltimore, in which it is attempted to vindicate the Church from the charges of that Review. By a Protestant Episcopalian."

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In beauty of holiness, with ordered pomp,  
Decent and unproved."

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JOHN W. DAVIS,

*Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

## TO THE READER.

IT is proper to premise, for the correction of an erroneous opinion which we know has been industriously circulated, that this controversy did not begin on the part of Episcopalians. The sermon of Dr. WYATT, to which Mr. SPARKS grappled himself with such eager haste, was written, as we understand, for the ordinary duties of the pulpit, without any view to publication. Its delivery, as we discover from the author's address to his parishioners, was occasioned by a public discourse of one of the presbyterian ministers of Baltimore to a congregation collected by advertisements in the newspapers of that city, and in which the clergy of various denominations were included: the appointment, at that time, of *ruling elders* led the minister to exhibit his views of the constitution of the ministry and of the doctrines of the gospel. "Both the opportunity and the manner were deemed unexceptionable," says Dr. WYATT. About the same time, a sermon, intended as an attack on the peculiar principles of the Episcopal church, and which had been recently delivered before a Presbyterian synod in a neighbouring part of Virginia, was publicly advertised and offered for sale at the Bookstores in that city. About this time too, had occurred the ordination of Mr. SPARKS; to be present at which the clergy of that city were invited by an advertisement in the newspapers.\*

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\* "The ordination of Mr. JARED SPARKS, to the pastoral charge of the first Independent Church of Baltimore, according to the ancient and established usages of New-England, will take place to-morrow. The gentlemen who have been invited, together with the delegation from the respective churches to compose the ordaining council, are, &c. &c. Several of these gentlemen will assist in the services of the day. The Sermon will be preached by the Rev. Mr. CHANNING. The services will be commenced at 10 o'clock in the morning. Seats will be reserved for such of the clergy as feel disposed to attend," &c.

*Baltimore Newspaper, May 4, 1819.*



Had they attended, they were to have been *gratified* with the sermon, then delivered by the Rev. Dr. CHANNING of Boston, since published, and controversial in the highest degree. These circumstances known, it is not to be pretended, even for a moment, that the Episcopal church, has, in this instance, manifested a disposition for controversy. On the other hand, the publication of Dr. WYATT's sermon was eagerly seized on as a pretext for an attack on Episcopalians, and lest a volume should not be sufficient, either in bulk or strength, it was backed, in true bitterness of spirit, by the Review in the Christian Disciple.

We have not taken our pen with the view of protracting this controversy. Much of this Review was deemed very objectionable, and calculated to give *very false* ideas of the church, to those who know very little concerning it. Better fitted for general circulation, it would probably reach places, whither Mr. SPARKS's volume would not penetrate. The correction of the misstatements was easily made, and it was therefore thought best to furnish some corrective, which, partaking of the ephemeral character of the attack, might be quickly read, and pass away with its cause. As our object is not controversy, and as perhaps, we have said enough for the purpose we had in view, we shall not *easily* be prevailed on to give the subject farther notice in this way.

## REPLY.

**T**HE "leaven of the Pharisees," which so bitterly actuated some of the first settlers of New-England, both before and after their emigration, has not ceased its workings, if we may judge from this review, among those, who, almost their antipodes in principle, yet claim to be *the sons of the Puritans*.

If there is merit in an actual descent from the fathers of New-England, we have claims, which, perhaps, would not suffer in comparison with those of the Reviewer; but when we consider that they were men who unhesitatingly transacted the very deeds they had so loudly exclaimed against in others, we would rather speak of their sufferings in any other cause than that of religion; the best interests of which, as we think, they unnecessarily opposed, though, as we would charitably believe, "through ignorance they did it."

We are not well informed as to the extent of the injury done to Episcopacy by what the Reviewer calls "the formidable assault of Dr. Mayhew in 1763;" but as the church in New-England, or at least in Massachusetts, was then only *a little flock*, we should conclude, from its condition during our memory, that the injury was not very great, nor the assault very magnani-

mous. A few small congregations were but thinly scattered over the state; their ministers—when they were favored with them—were chiefly supported by the English Society for propagating the gospel, and when the revolution, and not Dr. Mayhew's *formidable assault*, compelled the Society to withhold the scanty stipend upon which these men depended, it was a very necessary consequence that these congregations should, at the least, languish, if not wholly expire. The alarm however, does not seem to have spread through New-England so thoroughly as the Reviewer would have his readers to suppose. The learned and able Dr. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, than whom no man was better qualified to judge, believed that the church on the whole had gained ground in New-England by this controversy.\* Bishop White says,† when the revolutionary war began, there were not more than about eighty parochial clergymen of the church to the northward and eastward of Maryland, “and yet in 1792, when the shock of the war was scarcely spent, the number was about the same; and at this time it has considerably more than doubled.” It is certainly cause of gratitude, that where her adversaries are the chief, our Zion is enabled to look up and shake herself from the dust.

To judge from the manner in which the Reviewer speaks of the present increasing prospects of the church, we should suppose that the apprehensions of her becoming *dangerous* had bereft him of his patience; and he falls into some mistatements, perhaps from mere dread of encountering the whole truth. In speak-

\* Life of Johnson by Dr. Chandler, p. 113.

† Hist. Prot. Ep. Church, in U. S. A. p. 1.

ing of the progress of "*Episcopal peculiarities*" in Maryland, he does not seem to be aware that these *peculiarities* were once established by law in that state, and that through the want of clergymen her altars were deserted, and *Methodism* brought in to supplant her. But a better day has risen, as we trust, on the church, both in that state and Virginia. In Connecticut, too, one would suppose that he believed Episcopacy had started in her full dimensions, from the late political dissensions in that state on the subject of *toleration*. That state had *twenty-two* Episcopal clergymen in 1792, while she now numbers more than *forty*. In Bishop Hobart's diocese (New-York) the number of parishes is *one hundred and twenty*, and in Bishop Kemp's (Maryland) *sixty-one*. The clergy in the former are about *seventy*, in the latter *forty-eight*. Some person has attempted to correct the Reviewer by a note to page 5, of the Baltimore edition. Whoever he may have been, he does not seem to have known that there is any difference between "*preachers*" and *parishes*.

For the information of our readers we state, that the number of Episcopal clergymen throughout the United States, is now about three hundred and twenty; and that they are to be found settled, and that conventions are organized, in nearly all of the states.

In the next paragraph, the Reviewer, with some warmth, and a glimmering of good will, for exhibiting which he is almost angry with himself, endeavors to make his readers believe that Dr. Wyatt is the *author* of, what is to himself, a very obnoxious opinion, that "to the order of Bishops alone belongs the power of ordaining ministers: and that an ordination performed by the

hands of a priest, deacon or layman, would be devoid of any degree of validity or efficacy in conferring spiritual office and power." Was it from apprehension that some of his readers, (whose minds, we are instructed to believe, pursue very ardently their enquiries for truth,) would examine into the *facts*, that induced him thus to garble Dr. Wyatt's observation, which truly is;—"thus it has been the faith of the universal church, without exception until the period of the reformation; that to the order of Bishops alone belongs," &c. ? In a note at the foot of the same page of the sermon, Dr. W. also says, "The divine institution of the ministry, consisting of three orders, which possess distinct powers, is maintained by the great body of the christian world. The denominations which are destitute of a succession of Bishops from the Apostles, occupy a comparatively small portion of Christendom. This prevalence of Episcopacy in Christian countries; and the favourable opinion entertained of it by those eminent men, (Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Beza, and others,) whose peculiar circumstances notwithstanding, seems to have justified a departure from it, are adduced to show that it is neither a singular, nor an offensive doctrine which we are stating;—and that while in the just exercise of their civil and religious liberty,—both of which may God preserve!—some large and devout protestant denominations reject it, we claim only a similar, and not an indefensible privilege in holding and advocating it." Now we most sincerely doubt, whether there is, in the whole of the Review, a single sentence written in so calm and charitable a manner, as these few sentences; in which the author tells his parishioners, that the doc-

trine of their church—the doctrine which he advocates—was, and is, received and acted on by the great body of the Christian world. But it is only so “*according to this writer.*” Is the Reviewer’s *learning* so limited that he did not know this opinion to be *no novelty*? If he knew otherwise, it would have been but honesty in him to have said so.

The contrast between the abilities of Dr. Wyatt, and Mr. Sparks is so strongly stated, that if we take either side, without deduction for *truth*, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the other is *caricature*. We can allow much for personal feeling, but in a question like this, we shall mistrust a mind and *cause* which needs such bolstering as the friendly Reviewer gives his friend Mr. Sparks. That the latter has respectable talents we do not doubt, *but they will speak for themselves*. That he has a more temperate spirit than the Reviewer we doubt as little. But we have heard, and seen, too much of the talents which Unitarians possess of playing into each other’s hands, to regard such observations as more than *matters of course*.

Good breeding is an essential requisite to a sound education. The man possessed of it will not seek to undervalue his opponent by little arts,—by contemptuous expressions,—certainly not by those, of which the just application can be questioned by men of not less erudition than himself. Still greater will be his caution, who, to a sound education, adds the feelings and the principles of a Christian. *He* will sustain himself by the merit of his cause—he cannot stoop to detraction. The Reviewer gives such an opinion as he pleases upon Dr. Wyatt’s style; (and we suppose we may reasonably

say, is somewhat unjust in his censures,) while he furnishes to his readers, nine in ten of which, he well knew, would never see Dr. Wyatt's sermon, no opportunity whatever to judge for themselves. Is this the course of a *well-educated* and candid mind? Nay, "an enemy hath done this."

We fear that these engrossers of "*all the talents*" as their *light* increases, will persuade themselves that all *true learning*, as well as "*uncorrupt Christianity*," is confined to "*a small spot in Massachusetts*." To judge from the confident tone and manner of their publications against the church, we should suppose them very near that extremity now. We *fear* it, not because we assume all their pretensions as *facts*, but because such men will meddle on all subjects, whether they understand them, or not, and like Goldsmith's school-master,

"Tho' vanquished they can argue still."

"Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? There is more hope of a fool than of him."

"Mr. Sparks in his first letter," says the Reviewer, "controverts the assumption, that the Episcopal is the only true church, that its ministry originated with the Apostles, and has descended down to the present time, through an unbroken, and divinely protected succession; and that ordinations performed by any other person than Bishops are devoid of every degree of efficacy in conferring spiritual office and power."

"This is a controversy," says Dr. Bowden, "which must every now and then be revived; and our opponents, not being deficient in sagacity, see very clearly, that it will not do to take notice of the several triumphant an-

swers that have been given at different times to their hypothesis." This is very plainly the case, in the instance before us. No notice is taken of the many very able works which the clergy, and others, of the English church have written in her defence. Sir Peter King's work against the above position could be quoted with approbation, and not a syllable be dropped on the fact so often, and so confidently asserted, and *never yet denied*, that he was made a convert to this very position by the reply of the Rev. Mr. Slater, to his own book.\* Nothing is said of the very able work of Dr. Bowden, of our own country, which certainly has done much to create, and strengthen that attachment to Episcopal peculiarities, which is spreading throughout our country. To notice these defences,—to admit that they have done any thing to advance the interests of Episcopacy—would be to direct inquiry into the *wrong* path ; which might result like some recent, and more restricted, examinations, disagreeable to the Reviewer and his party.

"Mr. Sparks appeals in the first place, to scripture evidence," and concludes with a statement of *eight* positions, all of which are resolvable into *two*—that

\* "By some inadvertency," says the Reviewer, "the inquiry into the Constitution of the primitive church is ascribed in Mr. Sparks's work to *Archbishop King*." We suppose Mr. S's notes of college lectures may have become illegible at this place ; and that he had not seen the book. It was a good story, however, for the purpose. *An Archbishop opposing Episcopacy* ! Who afterward could defend it ? Sir Peter was afterward Lord Chancellor of England, and preferred Mr. Slater in the church. It would certainly be well for those inclined to adopt Sir Peter's opinion, to read Mr. Slater's book, entitled, "*An Original Draught of the primitive Church*," before they consider him conclusive.



there is no evidence in the scriptures of three orders in the ministry, and that no means are indicated in them by which the ministry might be perpetuated. The inference from these positions would be a fair one, that the church of *Christ* has long since ceased from the earth ; while the Reviewer, perhaps, would wish us to deduce the consequence, that all men are left at liberty to form churches as they please. The Episcopal church, for many, and obvious reasons, rejects both these positions. It is a prevailing principle among her well-educated, and well-informed members, that her ministry is of DIVINE INSTITUTION. This term may need some explanation. We give it in the language of Dr. Bowden. " A thing may be said to be divinely instituted in three senses. 1. As God positively ordains it by his own express command, or by the express command of his son Jesus Christ. In this sense, I do not take Episcopacy to be of divine institution. Nor in this sense is the christian sabbath, or infant baptism, or the canon of scripture, entitled to the sanction of divine institution. 2. A thing may be said to be of divine institution when it is delivered by men divinely inspired ;

3 are all those precepts and ordinances, delivered by the apostles and prophets by divine inspiration. Every thing of this kind must be deemed to be of divine institution, because God by his Holy Spirit has commanded it. 3. Whatever is *founded* upon a divine commission, as the preaching of the gospel, the administration of the sacraments, and the power of the keys, is of divine institution. In the two last senses, I take Episcopacy to be of divine institution. For if the Holy Spirit inspired the apostles to establish Episcopacy in

the church, it is certainly of divine institution, although there may be no formal and express precept for the purpose. Or if the apostles, by virtue of the commission which they received from Jesus Christ, established Episcopacy, it must, if not immediately, yet mediately, be grounded upon divine institution. For if the apostolic commission was founded upon divine authority, as it certainly was, then all commissions derived from that source, and within the limits of that commission, are also mediately formed upon divine authority; and in this sense, at the least, every one who believes Episcopacy not to be a mere human institution, must believe it to have a divine sanction. This statement is, I believe, agreeable to the sentiments of the best writers on our side of the question."

"It is evident unto all men, diligently reading Holy Scripture, and ancient authors," says the preface to the ordinal of the church, "that, from the apostles' times, there have been these officers in Christ's church, bishops, priests, and deacons." The first, or superior order, were intrusted with the government of the church, and with the power of ordaining or admitting men to the inferior orders. The second order, deriving their power through the hands of Bishops, were empowered to preach the gospel, and administer the sacraments of the church. The third order, were general assistants in the service of the church, and charged with the care of sick and poor people. These three orders are known in scripture, by the names, first, of apostles,—second, of bishops or elders,—and third, of deacons. The two appellations for the second order were used as synonymous, till the death of the apostles, when it was

thought best in the church, to appropriate that name exclusively to those who had "seen the Lord," and had received their commission personally from him ; but the office being retained, the name of bishop was applied to those who performed its duties, as a substitute for that of apostle. The other offices retained the name of elder or presbyter, and deacon. But, *names aside*, let us see whether there are not in the scriptures clear indications of the existence of three distinct *offices* or *orders*, performing different duties.

1. There was an order of men governing the church and ordaining others exclusively. Unquestionably the apostles were in this rank, and there is ample evidence, in the scriptures, that they associated others in the same work with themselves. Barnabas, Timothy, Titus, Epaphroditus, and others exercised the same office—performed the same duties.\* What was the nature of these duties may be seen on a perusal of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of St. Paul, especially those to Timothy and Titus. It is succinctly stated in the last. "For this cause," says St. Paul, "left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the things which are wanting, and *ordain elders* in every city. c. i.

\* Acts xiv. 14—Epistle to Timothy and Titus, *passim*. Bishop Fell, in a note to the second chapter of the epistle to the Philippians, has the following passage ; "Tertullian *in prescrip.* saith, that St. Paul instituted an Episcopal see at Philippi ; Chrysostom, Jerome, Theodoret, and *others*, name Epaphroditus to be the first Bishop. And the epithets given him by the apostle do seem to confirm this." See also Skinner's Vindication of primitive truth and order in reply to Dr. Campbell's Lectures on Eccles. Hist. pp. 138—151, and Bowden on Episcopacy, vol. 1. p. 289.

v. 5. We read of Paul and Barnabas, that, "when they had ordained them elders in every church, and had prayed, with fasting, they commended them," &c. Acts xiv. 23. Now the scriptures, though they inform us of other ministers, (as in these two passages, of elders,) yet make no mention of their performing these duties. True, there is a passage in the Epistle to Timothy, where St. Paul is considered by many as intimating, that presbyters or elders were associated with himself in his ordination. "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the *presbytery*." 1. Tim. iv. 14. Some of the best critics are, however, of opinion that the term here used applies properly to the college of the *apostles*. St. Paul, however, only speaks here of a *concurrent* act; such as is practised in the Episcopal church, while in the second Epistle, i. 6. he speaks of himself as the *actual* ordainer.\*

2. There was an order of ministers, not exercising the duties spoken of above, but having other duties assigned them, which, nevertheless, were common to both orders: namely, preaching and administering the sacraments. Beside which, they were, from time to time, charged with the oversight of particular congregations, and were in this respect bishops or overseers; which name, we have admitted, was applied to them during the life-time of the apostles. Of this class were the "other seventy" sent by our Lord,—as also the *elders*

\* Bishop Fell, *in loc.*—Calvin's Institutes, L. 4. c. 3.—Assembly's Annotations on 2 Tim. i. 6.—Skinner's Primitive Truth, p. 140.—Slater's Original Draught, p. 183.—Bowden on Episcopacy, vol. 1. p. 305.—Bishop White's Lectures on the Catechism, p. 159.

ordained by the apostles, as abovementioned,—those ordained by Titus—those sent for from Ephesus to Miletus by Paul,—those addressed by Peter in his first Epistle,—those *bishops* ordained by Timothy, agreeably to the directions given him in the first Epistle of Paul,—and those, whom Paul associates with *all the saints, and the deacons*, in the address of his Epistle to the Philippians.\* While all allow, that a commission was given by our Lord to the apostles, to gather, and establish his church, yet no one pretends, that a similar commission was given to the *seventy*; and that they were not equal to the apostles, is fully shown by the manner in which the place of Judas was supplied. (Acts, c. i.) And with regard to those elders with whom Timothy and Titus were connected, it is apparent from the epistles addressed to these last, that they were vested with control over the former. *They* were to take care that no innovation in doctrine be admitted,—to punish such of the elders and others as *disobeyed*,—to give double honor to such as *laboured* diligently in the word and doctrine; and they were to lay hands suddenly on no man, but to use great caution with regard to those whom they admitted to the ministry.

3. There was an order of ministers called deacons, who were general assistants in the service of the church. That there was such an order in the church at Jerusalem,—that the persons on whom it was conferred, were

\* “ And the day following Paul went in with us to *James*; [whom all Ecclesiastical History concurs in admitting to have been made Bishop of Jerusalem by the apostles,] and *all the elders* were present,” Acts xxi. 18. “ The *apostles* and *elders*, came together,” Acts xv. 6.

chosen by the people, and set apart, or ordained, by the imposition of the hands of the apostles, is not to be denied. But it is said, they were set apart *only* for the purpose of taking charge of the offerings at the altar for the benefit of the poor. We shall not deny that this was the object for which the order was first instituted; but were they limited to this duty by the apostles? We have farther accounts of only two of them. Stephen is spoken of as an able preacher and defender of the gospel; and we are informed that in consequence of the persecution which arose after his death,—the disciples being dispersed,—Philip went down to Samaria, and preached Christ to the people of that city. We soon find him *baptizing*. Now preaching and baptizing were certainly acts of the ministry superior to the mere care of the poor. In these transactions, we find he was sanctioned by the apostles, as Peter and John were sent from the council of apostles at Jerusalem, not to rebaptize, but to lay their hands on those whom he had admitted to the church by baptism. But it is said, that this Philip was an Evangelist, and that this accounts for these transactions. If the term Evangelist denoted an office, it was simply in the same sense as Missionary in our day; one who travelled to preach the gospel. At the very time Philip is called by this name, he is also spoken of as *one of the seven*. (Acts xxi. 8.) And it is evident, that Peter and John were his superiors. Besides, the charge of the altar offerings was a part of *ministerial duty*; the apostles executed it till the election of the seven. St. Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy, speaks *twice* distinctly of the "*office of a deacon*." "They that have used the *office*

*of a deacon well, purchase to themselves a good degree, and great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus.*" (1 Tim. iii. 13). "Hence it appears—says the learned Grotius—that there are several degrees, or orders in the ministry of the church; and that the deacons have their share too *in the ministry of the word*: and that they were not instituted only for the care of the poor."\*

In connection with what has been shown above, let the reader view together the following verses from the Epistle to the Philippians. "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the *bishops and deacons*." (v. 1.) "I supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my brother, and companion in labour, and fellow-soldier, but your *apostle*." (c. ii. v. 25.)† Bishops, deacons, and saints of Philippi, Epaphroditus is your apostle! To use the Reviewer's language, "one would think this enough for a protestant!"

If then the scripture *does* furnish evidence of the establishment of three orders in the ministry by the apostles, acting under the authority of our Lord, and also of the means by which that ministry might be perpetuated, through the laying on of the hands of apostles, and their successors, and by directions from the apostles them-

\* Hinc apparet diversas esse ministrorum gradus, et diaconas habuisse aliquam partem in ministerio verbi, et non ad solam pauperum curam institutos fuisse. *Grotius*.

† In our translation of the Bible, the Greek word *Αποστολος* is here incorrectly rendered *messenger*,—"not the word *messenger* but the word *apostle*—says Bishop White—should have been used; as it is in every other place of scripture except one." *Lectures on the Catechism*, p. 136. See also Whitby, *in loc.* and note page 14.

selves, then all the concern we can have with the ancient fathers is to ascertain whether suitable care was taken for continuing the ministry thus established ;—whether being divinely instituted it was also divinely protected. This is a question of *fact* only. And surely if the fathers will furnish us with satisfactory testimony on this point, we may be pardoned a little fondness for their writings, and a reasonable desire for their preservation.

“ We have cause to believe that, what these primitive professors taught concerning the doctrine, the government, and the discipline of the church, they received,—as Archbishop Wake observes,—from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and from that blessed spirit who directed them, both in what they taught and in what they ordained.”

The earliest father, whose writings have come down to us, is Clement of Rome. He lived at the close of the first century ; had doubtless conversed with several of the apostles, and left one Epistle directed to the church at Corinth ; the only copy of which known to exist was found written in the same volume with the books of the New Testament.\* In this Epistle he writes thus,—“ It will behove us to take care that, looking into the depths, we do all things in order, whatsoever our Lord hath commanded us to do. And particularly, that we perform our offerings and service to God at their appointed seasons : for these he has *commanded* to be done, not rashly and disorderly, but at *certain deter-*

\* Eusebius says, L. 3. c. 14.—“ This Epistle we have known to be publicly read in many churches, both of old, and amongst us also.”



*minate times, and hours. And therefore he has ordained, by his supreme will and authority, both where and by what persons, they are to be performed ; that so all things being piously done unto all well-pleasing, they may be acceptable unto him.*"\* Again : "The APOSTLES have preached to us from our Lord Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ from God. Christ therefore was sent from God ; the apostles by Jesus Christ ; so both were orderly sent, according to the will of God. For having received their command, and being thoroughly assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ ; and convinced by the word of God, with the full assurance of the Holy Spirit, they went abroad, publishing that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, *they appointed* the first fruits of their conversions, to be BISHOPS and DEACONS over such as should afterwards believe, having first proved them by the spirit."† This extract proves, that a ministry was established through divine influence in the church, and that there were two orders *resident* at Corinth, under the control of the apostles,‡—some of whom were then living ; St. John and Clement, according to Dr. Cave, both dying in the same year. In less than fifty years after the writing of this Epistle, Hegesippus, travelling to Rome, was accompanied by Primus, then vested with the government of the church at Corinth as *apostolic* bishop.||

Another witness to the fact of the apostolic establishment of three orders in the ministry, is Ignatius, who

\* S. Clem. ad Cor. Epist. i. sec. xl.

† Ibid. sec. xlii. Cotel. pat. Apost. vol. i. p. 170—171.

‡ See also Slater's Draught, p. 213.—Skinner's Primitive Truth, p. 164.

|| Quoted by Eusebius, L. 4. c. 22.

was appointed by the apostles themselves, apostolic Bishop of Antioch in Syria. He was martyred at Rome, in the early part of the second century. Great efforts have been made to destroy the credibility of his writings ; apparently, because he is the first of the fathers who uses the names of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, as designating three distinct offices. His Epistles are, however, quoted by Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, by Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, by Eusebius, the father of Ecclesiastical History, and by Origen. Full testimony is borne to them by Eusebius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Theodoret, and Gelasius, fathers of the fourth century. The great body of the *learned* of all denominations,—says Dr. Bowden,—acknowledge the *shorter* epistles, published by Archbishop Usher, and Vossius, to be genuine, and *entirely free* from those corruptions which are universally admitted to belong to the *larger* epistles.\*

Two or three extracts, only, will be made from these epistles, and they are conclusive. “He that is within

\* Unitarians also object to these Epistles that they savour too strong of the doctrine of the Trinity. There are, then, two cogent reasons why they should endeavour their destruction. But they have been advocated as genuine by Abp. Usher, Abp. Wake, Bp. Bull, Bp. Pearson, Dr. Cave, Cotelerius, Vossius, Grotius, Dupin, Petavius, Tillemont, Leclerc, Bochart, Fabricius, Dr. Hammond, and many others. See *Horseley's Letters to Priestly*, p. 34. Even Dr. Lardner says, “I do not affirm that there are in them any considerable corruptions, or alterations.” *Credibility of Gospel History*, vol. 2. p. 69. Blondel, Daillé, Salmasius, and Albertinus acknowledge that we have the epistles which Eusebius had. See Eusebius, L. 3. c. 32. Bowden, vol. 1. p. 174. Bp. White's Lectures, p. 457. Skinner, p. 166.

the altar is pure, but he that is without, that is, that does any thing without the bishop, and presbyters, and deacons, is not pure in his conscience." *Ep. to Tral-  
lians, sect. 7.* "See that ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ, the father, and the presbytery, as the apostles, and reverence the deacons as the command of God. Let no man do any thing of what belongs to the church separately from the bishop." *Ep. to Smyr-  
næans, sect. 8.* "I salute your very worthy bishop, and your venerable presbytery, and your deacons, my fellow servants." *Ibid. sect. 12.*

The only remaining father of this early period, whose writings can be adduced in this controversy, is Polycarp; and all that is now extant of his writings, is an epistle to the church at Philippi, in which he does not himself speak of three distinct orders, yet he recommends to the Philippians, the above mentioned epistles of Ignatius, which, we have seen, are unequivocal on the subject.

Here then are two, if not three, witnesses testifying to the existence of Episcopacy in the early part of the second century. These men lived almost within the apostolic age; the last of them, indeed, is said to have conversed with the apostles; and Jerome says, he was consecrated bishop of Smyrna by St. John. There are no other christian writings of this period extant, except a few fragments preserved by other, and later fathers, which, however, contain no evidence on this subject.

Thus we have the testimony of scripture, to the apostolic establishment of Episcopacy, and the concurrence of all the christian writers of the first century,

who mention the subject, to its continuance to their time.

Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons in France, lived about seventy years after the last of the apostles. The Reviewer quotes Mr. Sparks as asserting that he was ordained by presbyters, but there is no evidence, that we have yet seen, by which this assertion can be supported. When *but a presbyter* he was sent with an account of the sufferings of the churches at Lyons and Vienne, to Eleutherus, Bishop of Rome. Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, had just received martyrdom. Irenæus, either at Rome, or on his return, was consecrated his successor. He states, that the church of Rome was founded by the apostles, names the first twelve bishops, and then asserts,—“By this *succession*, that tradition in the church, and publication of the truth, which is from the apostles, is come to us.”—*Book against Heresies, lib. iii. c. 3.* Again—“The apostolic tradition is present in every church. We can enumerate those who were constituted bishops by the apostles, in the churches, and their successors, who taught no such thing. By showing the tradition, and declared faith of the most ancient church of Rome, which *she received from the apostles* and which is even come to us through the *succession of bishops*, we confound all who conclude otherwise than as they ought.”—*Ibid.* Again—“We can reckon up to you those who were instituted bishops by the apostles themselves,—to whom they committed the churches,—left them *their successors*, delivering up to them *their own proper place of mastership*.”—*Ibid.* Now let these passages be viewed in connection with what has been already stated from scripture and the early fathers.

Clement of Alexandria flourished about twenty years later than Irenæus. Having pointed out some texts of scripture as applicable to Christians in general, he says,—“There are other precepts without number, some which relate to presbyters, others which belong to bishops, and others respecting deacons.” *Pædagog. L. iii. c. 12.* Clement was a presbyter under Demetrius bishop of Alexandria.

Tertullian flourished about A. D. 200. He says—“The chief or highest priest, who is the *bishop*, has the right of giving baptism, and after him the *presbyters*, and *deacons*, but not without the bishop’s authority.” (*De Baptismo. c. 17.*) The following extracts from the same father will illustrate the quotations above from Irenæus: appealing to the rulers of the Roman Empire in favor of the persecuted Christians, he says,—“We are but of yesterday, and we have filled your cities, islands, towns, and boroughs,—the camp, the senate, and the forum. Our adversaries lament that every age, sex, and condition are converts to the name of Christ.” (*Apol. c. 37.*) Again: speaking of many countries in which Christianity prevailed, he says, “In almost every city we form the greater part.” (*Ad Scap. c. 2.*) “I do allow,”—says Paley,\*—“that these expressions are loose, and may be called declamatory. But even declamation hath its bounds; this public boasting, upon a subject which must be known to every reader, was not only useless but unnatural, unless the truth of the case, in a considerable degree, correspond with the descrip-

\* Works.—Boston Ed. Vol. ii. (Evidences) p. 330. See also Bowden, vol. iii. pp. 140—3.

tion ; at least, unless it had been both true and notorious, that great multitudes of Christians, of all ranks and orders were to be found in most parts of the Roman Empire." Was this the case at this early period? And will it be said that the bishops mentioned in the above quotations, were "parochial clergymen and nothing more?" It is incredible.

It is unnecessary to continue these extracts, as Eusebius, who lived about a hundred years later than Tertullian, and, from his situation and character, must have been competent to the task, amply testifies to the fact in question. He furnishes us with lists of the bishops who have successively presided in the churches of Antioch, Jerusalem, Rome, and Alexandria, taken by himself from the records of those churches.\* "There can be no making light of his testimony," says Bishop White. Blondel, Salmasius, and Daillé, all great champions of presbyterianism, and *opposers of Episcopacy*, admit that *diocesan* Episcopacy was the general government of the church, *before* the time of Clement of Alexandria, whom we quoted above. Du Moulin, in his defence of presbyterianism, says,—“Truly the Episcopal form of government, all churches, every where, received, presently after the apostles times, or even in their times, as ecclesiastical history witnesseth.” Bucer, Calvin, Baxter, and Leclerc, say

\* The first Bishop of Jerusalem was St. James ; (Acts xv. 13. and xxi. 18.) of Rome, Linus ; of Alexandria, St. Mark ; of Antioch, Evodius ; of Athens, Dionysius, the Areopagite ; of Ephesus, Timothy ; of Crete, Titus ; of Smyrna, Polycarp ;—all of them ordained, and constituted bishops of the respective churches by the apostles themselves.

the same in substance. Doddridge admits its existence in the time of Ignatius.\* But even were we to

\* Bowden, vol. i. 159—and ii. 135. Religious World displayed, by the Rev. R. Adam. Philad. Ed. vol. ii. p. 282. We must not, however, pass without notice the proof which the Reviewer gives us from Jerome that Episcopal government was an usurpation. The extract is as follows.—“Till through the instinct of the devil, there grew in the church, factions, and among the people it began to be professed, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, churches were governed by the common advice of presbyters, but when every one began to reckon those whom he had baptized, his own, and not Christ's, *it was decreed in the whole world*, that one, chosen out of the presbyters, should be placed over the rest, to whom all care of the church should belong, and so the seeds of schism be removed.” This passage certainly proves, that the congregational, or presbyterian system, was fruitful in *schisms*, and that Episcopacy was found the most effectual antidote. But can the Reviewer inform us what period Jerome refers to? We have no doubt that it is to the time when Paul actually used the language which Jerome quotes. It is very evident, we think, from the scriptures, that none of the apostles, (James, perhaps, excepted) located themselves at an early period; but, with those whom they had chosen into their number, generally did the work of Evangelists, travelling for the wider spread of the gospel, “ordaining elders in every church;” to whom doubtless they committed the local or pastoral government, at the same time exercising over them a general superintendence. The schism at Corinth demonstrated the necessity of a local and resident Episcopacy. They accordingly,—Jerome tells us,—established it “throughout the world.” And it is remarkable, that the epistles to Timothy and Titus in which Paul charged them with the government of the churches at Ephesus and Crete, and instructed them how to proceed in calling men to the ministry, &c. were both written, either in the same year, or subsequently, to that in which the first epistle to the Corinthians was written. The same remark applies to the epistle to the Philippians. We, elsewhere, find

admit, that the apostles established congregationalism, or presbyterianism, still it is allowed on all sides that a different state of things existed at the time of which we are now writing ; how, or when, or by whom, was this change effected ? It must have been known for a long time afterward ;—there must have been some records of the fact, for we find events of much less importance amply attested ;—we should have heard of it, at least, by allusion, but the silence of those who slumber in the grave is not more perfect, than is that of all antiquity on this point ; no syllable can be produced to attest it ; all the evidence we possess of the early history of the church is against it ;—those who have attempted to establish it, have generally disagreed as to the period ;—and yet in the face of all this, there are men who can assert that Episcopacy was an usurpation ! “ When”—says Chillingworth—that Chillingworth whom the Reviewer represents, with others, as merely *acquiescing* in Episcopacy,—“ When I shall see all the democracies, and aristocracies in the world, *lie down to sleep*, and awake into monarchies ; then will I begin to believe, that presbyterian government, (and we suppose we may be permitted to say—or congrega-

Jerome *expressly* mentioning, that Timothy was made Bishop of Ephesus, Titus of Crete, and Epaphroditus of Philippi, by St. Paul, In another place he says, (we quote it, to show that he does not speak of *parochial* bishops)—“ We may know that the apostolic traditions were taken from the Old Testament ; that which Aaron, and his sons, and the Levites, were in the temple, let the bishops, presbyters, and deacons, claim to themselves in the church.” (*Ep. ad Evag.*) See Bowden, vol. i. letter 1. and vol. iii. let. 5. Hobart’s Festivals and Fasts, 2d. ed. p. 36. Slater’s Original Draught, p. 207. Skinner’s Primitive Truth, p. 223.



tional,) having continued in the church from the apostles' times, should presently after be whirled about like a stone in a masque, and be transformed into Episcopacy."†

† Quoted in Rev. R. Adam's Religious World, vol. ii. p. 282. See Chillingworth's Apostolic Institution of Episcopacy demonstrated. The testimony of Cyprian, Bp. of Carthage, Firmilian, Bp. of Cæsarea, Jerome, Hilary the deacon, Chrysostom, Bp. of Constantinople, and others which we cannot quote, may be seen in Bowden, vol. i. letters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. As to the confident assertion of Mr. Sparks, that, "Bishops were for a long time ordained by presbyters at Alexandria," we refer our readers to Bp. Pearson's vindication of the epistles of Ignatius, where he quotes several authors, who particularly mention that the Bishop of Alexandria was always ordained, not by presbyters, but *by a bishop*. We shall adduce *one*. Simeon Metaphrastes says of St. Mark, that "he ordained as his successor, Anianus, Bishop of Alexandria: and gave to other churches, bishops, presbyters, and deacons." Lib. xi. c. 43. See also Eusebius, lib. ii. c. 15. The Reviewer, not content with adopting Mr. S's opinion with regard to the Alexandrian church, says farther, that the church at Carthage was congregational ! So said Sir P. King before him. Slater, after examining and refuting all his arguments, says of this church, that, "little as she was in her flourishing times of peace and safety, the number of her *lapsed members only*, was such, in the Decian persecution, that *thousands* of tickets were daily granted by the martyrs and confessors on their behalf, to procure their reconciliation with the church,—what manner of *single congregation* such a church would make before the fatal fall of so vast a number of her members, and after their blessed union again, I leave to any impartial man to judge." *Original Draught*, p. 99. We have seen above, what Tertullian, who was a native of this city, says of the prevalence of Christianity in the cities of the Empire. The address of St. Cyprian's 39th epistle *alone* would prove the establishment of Episcopacy in Carthage. Indeed so strong is the testimony to this effect, that Dr. Bowden, says vol. i.

As it respects the origin of the church of Rome it is not necessary to our purpose to go into particulars here; the fact that it commenced with Episcopacy, being *universally* admitted. The difficulty respecting the first seven bishops is substantially only a difficulty about *names*. There is reason however to believe, as shown by Dr. Hammond, that the Jewish and Gentile converts differing, as they did, in many observances, had also their separate bishops, and to this cause is the confusion in this respect, perhaps, to be traced. Nor are we concerned with the succession in that see to a later period, than the time of Gregory the great, as he is called, memorable for his refusing the title of universal bishop, which is now meant by that of Pope, and for sending to Britain, Augustin, who was the first Bishop of Canterbury.

We believe the assertion that "English bishops were, at an early period, consecrated by presbyters," to be destitute of credibility. On turning to Mr. Sparks's book to discover the instance alluded to, we find he refers to an occurrence, which, so far as we can understand from his statement, (and we are not able to refer to Doddridge) took place in *Scotland*. What relation it bears to the English succession we do not see. On referring to Dupin we find that about this time Adeodatus was Archbishop of Canterbury; he, dying, was succeeded by Theodorus, ordained at Rome and sent to England in 668 at the request of King Egbert. Just

p. 71. "Look, sir, at the sun when it is blazing in the firmament, and say it does not shine, and you will come as near the truth, as when you say Cyprian was the bishop of but a single congregation." See Skinner's Primitive Truth, p. 234, for the ancient distinction between diocese and parish.

before this event, Wilfred, educated at Rome, and ordained priest by Hagilbert, Bishop of Dorchester, was nominated Bishop of York. There being then but one bishop in England, he went to Paris and was there consecrated by the Bishop of Paris, and others. "During his absence they that stood for the way of the Irish churches (on the subject of the clerical tonsure and the observance of Easter) persuaded King Oswi to put into the church of York *Ceadde*, Abbot of Lindisferne, *who was consecrated by one English and two British (Welsh) Bishops.*"\* Wilfred returning, the King gave him the diocese of Litchfield, and he supplied the diocese of Canterbury during the interval between the death of Adeodatus and the arrival of Theodorus. Here then we see that there were six bishops at least in England and Wales, about the time in which Mr. S. considers Episcopacy to have become nearly extinct.

\* Dupin's Eccles. Hist. London ed. 1693, pp. 45—125. "These matters of fact,—he says,—are certain, being affirmed by Eddi, who was Wilfred's disciple and author of his life,—by Pope John the VIIth's letters,—and the narratives of Bede, and William of Malmesbury." While referring to Mr. Sparks's work we will notice what happens just now to strike our sight on the opposite page (36) to the one we have been commenting on. The sentiment ascribed to Eusebius is not his, but appears to be quoted, through Doddridge, perhaps, from Milton, "whose rage against Episcopacy was too great,"—as Bp. White justly observes,—"to permit the exercise of his judgement on any point connected with it." Eusebius referring to the *lesser* dioceses, intimates, that "it cannot be affirmed *how many, and what sincere* followers of the apostles, have governed those churches, but so far forth as may be gathered out of the words of Paul." This passage is at the place of his *second* reference; the *first* is to a chapter not in the book.

Indeed whoever examines the history of the church, at this period, and observes the stress laid upon *the succession*—the frequent appeals to Rome in matters of discipline, &c. and the influence of that see in England, will not be content with doubtful assertions impugning acknowledged facts, but will require indubitable testimony before he surrenders his opinion. Such testimony, we humbly conceive, is not to be produced. Dr. Campbell, Dr. Miller and other able opponents of Episcopacy, appear either not to be aware of the circumstance on which Mr. S. relies, or what is most probable, deemed it unworthy of credit.

It is believed that no other difficulties are alleged, affecting the succession, till the time of Elizabeth, and those which were then urged by the partizans of Rome, (and are now it seems to be urged anew by another class of men,) were not very important. They laboured to prove that the bishops who consecrated Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, were not themselves *consecrated*, but it appears that they were true bishops, although they had been deprived of their *jurisdiction* by Mary.\* In the same breath, they asserted that the reformers did not hold to the necessity of consecration to that office, and yet, that they had forged records to prove Bishop Parker to be duly consecrated! But these were not the opinions at Rome, for it is clearly testified by two respectable historians that Pius IV. offered Elizabeth to confirm what she had done, provided his supremacy was acknowledged.†

\* Robert Adam's Religious World, vol. ii. p. 381.—*Note*.

† Camden's Elizabeth, and Baker's Chron. Anno. 1560. We have before us a work by a romanist containing fifteen propositions

We know that Archbishop Bancroft has been frequently quoted as saying that *ordination by presbyters was valid*. But on what occasion was this expression said to have been made? When three ministers of the Scotch church, presbyterially ordained, were called up to London to be consecrated bishops. If the ordination by presbyters was valid, where, we would ask,

why the English orders are not valid. Among others,—they were not legal, nor canonical;—legal according to the laws of Mary then partially in force,—canonical according to the canons of the church of Rome. For the benefit of the Reviewer and his friends, we will lay before our readers the *last* proposition, meant, as we suppose, for the strongest. “It cannot be safe for a Christian to continue in a communion, where there are no true orders of bishops, and priests, or at least no certainty of such orders. Because, without true orders they can have no sacrament &c. no absolution, no eucharistic sacrifice, no lawful preaching, no keys &c. in a word, no church and no Christ,” &c. We suspect that congregationalists come in for a share of anathema here. The validity of the English orders has been proved in an elaborate work, by Le Courayer, a divine of the French church; but it brought him under the censures of his brethren, and obliged him to take refuge among those whom he had defended. The “informality in English ordinations,” which we are told, the romanist considers as nullifying them, was simply, the omission in the ritual of Edward the VI. of words designating in the sentence of ordination, the *peculiar* office to which the candidate was admitted, though it was fully expressed in the former and latter parts of the services. The truth is, the reformers were desirous of conforming as strictly as possible to the scriptural practice; the words used in consecrating, therefore, were similar to, if not the same with, those used by our Saviour in ordaining the apostles. Milbourne in his *Legacy to the church of England*, vol. i. p. 302. et seq. shows that a similar defect, if it is one, existed in the Greek ordinal, and that the orders of the Greek church were nevertheless allowed at Rome.

was the necessity for Spotswood and his brethren, to receive imposition of Episcopal hands, that their future ordinations might be such? "A different account however is given,"—says Dr. Bowden,—“by Heylin, Collier, and Gray. Archbishop Bancroft said, there was no necessity for their passing through the intermediate orders of deacon and priest, as the Episcopal character might be conveyed at a single consecration; and for this, he cited two precedents in the ancient church, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople.” And it was doubtless on this ground, that Bishop Andrews, who first suggested the difficulty, assisted in their consecration. Bishop Burnet, however, says that the question was overruled by King James.\* The three bishops returned to Scotland and consecrated others, “by which means a true and regular Episcopacy was at length introduced into the reformed church of Scotland,”—says Adam; who also quotes Bishop Guthry as saying, that, “it was not without the consent and furtherance of many of the wisest among the ministry.” Their Episcopacy, certainly, was but of short duration. In twenty-eight years occurred an event, which the Reviewer, after the example he has set us, will certainly pardon us for not easily forgetting, and, surely, we have some cause to remember it. The Solemn League and Covenant for the entire EXTIRPATION of prelacy, was framed, sworn to, and carried into unrelenting execution. But this is a subject, on which, we must thank the Reviewer for it, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The

\* History of his own times, vol. i. p. 139. See also Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 702.

bishops were driven into exile, where all died, except one. Twenty-four years afterward, Episcopacy was again restored to Scotland. Four persons were consecrated bishops in England; two of them being previously admitted deacons and priests; and the others already in Episcopal orders. From that time to the present, the succession has been regularly preserved in that country, and it was by the imposition of the hands of three of their successors that the late Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, derived his Episcopal authority.†

It is admitted, by the Reviewer, that the English succession may be traced upward to Archbishop Parker.

It is sometimes attempted by our opponents to show, that the reformers, did not believe in the divine institution of Episcopacy. It was in the second year of the reign of Edward VI. that the reformed ordinal was adopted; from it we select the following passages;—  
 “It is evident unto all men diligently reading *Holy Scripture* and ancient authors, that from the apostles’ time, there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s church, bishops, priests and deacons.” *Preface*.  
 “Almighty God, who, by thy *divine providence* hast appointed *divers orders* of ministers in thy church, and didst *inspire thine apostles* to choose into the order of deacons,” &c. “Almighty God, giver of all good things, *who by thy Holy Spirit* hast appointed *divers orders of ministers* in thy church,” &c. *Collects*. Other passages might be produced to the same import, but these are

† For a list of their bishops, see Skinner’s Prim. Truth, *Appendix*, No. i. p. 341. or, Journals Gen. Convention Prot. Ep. Ch. in U. S. (1789) p. 108.

sufficient. Now is it possible that men, such as those were who drew this ordinal, could deliberately state these sentiments,—suffer them to go down to posterity as theirs; nay, could embody them in prayers to God,—in prayers which they expected would be used by multitudes,—in prayers set forth to be used at *solemn ordinations*, and yet not believe them? It would be a sad blot indeed upon their memory, if there were any ground on which to sustain such a charge of perjury. That there might be some among them, who, in expressing, on other occasions, their private opinions, would not use precisely the same phrasology, we are not prepared to deny. This was not a period when the temperature, or aspect, of any man's mind, was of the same grade, or complexion, with all those around him. The free spirit of inquiry which had gone forth, was greatly adverse to the spirit of harmony; and it is something in favour of the demands of our church, that it was so well understood, at such a time, on what points to rest. We see that the reformers agreed in the fact that these three orders were established by *inspired apostles*. We ask no more. We are not disposed to quarrel about words.

Both the Reviewer and Mr. S. as quoted by him, discover a pretty strong disposition to turn against us the arms of the church of Rome. We admit that we have derived the succession through the *bishops* of that church, but we certainly do not see how the revocation by any bishop,—for such and such *only*, do we allow the Pope to be,—can render void the official acts of one, or more bishops, acting within their commissions, and by authority equal to, and transmitted in the same manner as his own. Our church acknowledges no such power;



on the contrary her divines have uniformly declared this claim of power on his part, even as exercised over the Romish church, to be rank usurpation. Have these writers never heard of the resistance made to this principle by the Gallican clergy? Will the platforms of New-England permit a pastor of one independent congregation to exercise such power over the pastor of another? The cases are precisely parallel. In this view there is something superlatively absurd in the "argument" which the Reviewer condescends "to suggest to Mr. S. that he may enlarge upon it in another edition." We should hope, on the contrary, that before Mr. S. commences *another* edition he would study the subject thoroughly for himself—depend less on "the literary republic of the east," and divest himself of the iron shackles of prejudice, with which, in truth, he seems overloaded, while he thinks himself free. If the Reviewer will but take the trouble to look back upon the conduct of the church at Rome, he will find that nearly all churches which have not submitted to the lawless dominion of the Pope, have not only been excommunicated, but even anathematised; and doubtless he will find her at one time admitting,—then denouncing,—and then again admitting, the orders of the numerous and powerful Greek church. But what does this prove? Nothing but an inordinate lust of power.

The Reviewer conceives he has now arrived at a position so firm, that "he does not see how any *impartial* person" can fail to be as fully persuaded as himself. When a writer with an *ex parte* statement tells his readers what *ought* to be the judgement of *impartial* persons he deserves to be suspected. He has nothing

to do with his judges, farther than to state his arguments. And when he descends to this sort of *cant*, we may compare him to a lawyer, who should tell a jury, that if they would be *impartial*, they must *believe all he says*. We are, perhaps, wasting our reader's time by remarks of this sort, but it is fit that they should see how far the Reviewer is disposed to judge for them in this question.

Notwithstanding the firmness of his position, the Reviewer seems desirous of adding a sort of buttress to increase its strength, by asserting that till some important deficiency is found in it, he shall be quite content to rest upon it, and to have his ordination "*as regular as that of Barnabas and Paul, who were ordained by certain prophets and teachers at Antioch.*"

We suppose, the Reviewer would wish to be understood here, as referring to congregational ordination. If so, we are somewhat doubtful, whatever may have been his individual case, whether those who have preceded him, in his shadowy line, have been so favoured as to have prophets and teachers for their ordainers. He will not, we suppose, be willing to allow Robert Brown to be the founder of his sect, nor would we be so *uncharitable* as to trace its origin to that man of unhappy memory ; yet Robinson of Leyden, who was perhaps its true founder, admitted, in his Apology published at Leyden, in 1619, that they were commonly known by the name of Brownists. In the New-England memorial there is an account of what is believed to have been the *first* congregational ordination in America. At Salem, on the sixth of August, 1629, the confession of faith and covenant being solemnly read,

**thirty persons** professed their consent to it, and then proceeded to *ordain* Mr. Shelton, *pastor*, and Mr. Higginson, *teacher*, of the church there. Gov. Bradford of Plymouth, afterward arrived and *gave them the right hand of fellowship*.\* Upon this point we might dilate,

\* N. England Mem. p. 82 and onward as quoted in Churchman's Mon. Mag. vol. ii. p. 228. See also Alden's account of the religious societies of Portsmouth, N. H. for a similar transaction, p. 29. Trumbull's Hist. Connecticut, vol. i. Ibid. Hist. U. S. vol. i. p. 89. It is not easy to ascertain, what are the principles, which, in our day, constitute congregationalism. The Cambridge and Saybrook platforms are, in a great measure, disused, and creeds of all kinds are becoming very unfashionable. At the first settlement of the country, none but *laymen* ordained, and their ordination was imposed, even upon those who had previously been Episcopally ordained in England. This ordination was performed, either, by all the members of the church as at Salem, or by certain members of it, called, in allusion to Proverbs ix. 1.—*the seven pillars*. If a minister of another congregation was present, he, as a general rule, was not allowed to interfere, lest the *rights of the church* should be infringed. Latterly, a different practice has prevailed; a council of laity and clergy appoint a clerical committee to perform the act of ordination. If the minister leaves one congregation, and is chosen to another, a *reordination* takes place after the same manner, in nearly all respects, but called *installation*. We suppose then, we are not mistaken in the belief, that the essence of congregationalism is, that each separate congregation is a perfect christian church, with full right to appoint its own officers, though the ceremony of ordination, which is, perhaps, but a public acceptance, be performed by others. That a minister, then, should be considered lawfully authorized while he continues to officiate to the church of which he is an *officer* is reasonable, but upon what ground is it, that he is permitted to exercise the *office*, when he ceases to be an *officer*? We recollect an instance of a gentleman who began his career with the title of *reverend*, as minister of a church in Boston; and terminated it with the title of *esquire*, as magistrate of a neighbouring town. But we now see

but it would oblige us to digress to too great an extent. We return to the consideration of the *ordination*, as the Reviewer calls it, of Paul and Barnabas. Is the Reviewer willing to rest his reputation as a Biblical critic, on the fact, that this was an ordination to the work of the ministry by which these apostles were now first commissioned? What then does Paul mean, when he says of himself, that he was "an apostle not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the father?" (*Gal. i. 1.*) Had not both Barnabas and Paul exercised their ministry before this time at other places, as well as a whole year in this very city of Antioch? And were they not in truth designated by the Holy Ghost for a *special mission*; the performance of which is fully narrated in Acts xiii. and xiv.? "The Holy Ghost, said, separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them."—"So they being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed," &c.—visited sundry places where, probably, the gospel had not been preached,—gathered churches, renewed their visits to some of them, ordained elders, in every church, and then returned to Antioch "from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God, *for the work which they had fulfilled.*" "The whole history of the conversion of St. Paul shows him to have been miraculously called,—says Bishop White,—under as strong evidence of the fact, as the miraculous appointment of the twelve. Not only so, he says expressly, "I neither re-

persons quitting the pastoral charge, accepting professorships in colleges, teaching schools, &c. and yet retaining the clerical character. We do not wonder, that uniformity and consistency are considered by such men as vices in the Episcopal church!

ceived it (the gospel) from man ; neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." (Gal. i. 12.) And again in regard to his entrance on the ministry,— "I conferred not with flesh and blood." (v. 16.) And in two places in the 2 Cor. (ix. 5 and xii. 11.) he places himself on a level with the chief of the apostles.\*

We may now,—we trust,—be permitted to use the language of the Reviewer, under as strong conviction of its truth, as his, though in a different sense. "It seems to us, that there are not many things in church history which less admit of dispute than the rise and establishment of Episcopacy."

The Reviewer next devotes a page or two, to a neat speculation on the rise and progress of Ecclesiastical government. It forcibly reminds us, however, of the author, who is said to have made up a book of travels through a certain country, while he was comfortably seated in his own closet. The book would pass very well among those, who had never seen the country, nor read a genuine account of it, but very different would be its reception with those who had. Just so with the Reviewer. His account may pass with those who *will not* examine into the early history of the church, but will have very little credit with those who do. He gives us his conceptions of such a church as we, probably, might have had, if he had been the guide and counsellor of the apostles. He admits that "the early preachers of our faith, [apostles] pursued the course which men of *good sense*, not to say men divinely inspired might be expected to adopt," and we are happy

\* Lectures on the Catechism, p. 430. See also Doddridge *in loc.*—Bowden, vol. i. p. 276.

to find him allowing them so much credit, for we were really in some doubt as to the estimation in which, in this respect at least, Unitarians are disposed to regard them: It is a *notorious* fact, that the opponents of Episcopacy, have not been able to agree as to the time in which it was imposed on the church. They are not only at variance with each other in regard to *this* circumstance, but they are equally so with regard to the *causes* which,—they say,—produced its imposition. Some of them impute it to the *corruption* of the clergy, aye, even in times when to be eminent in the cause of Christianity was to set one's self up as a mark for the shafts of power;—when the putting on of the mitre, was soon followed by the stripping off the garments at the stake:—in times when even the heathen enemies of Christianity speak of uncommon purity of life and principle, as the universal characteristic of its followers! Others of them ascribe it to the virtue and piety of the church. It must then be a form of government good in itself, and they should blush for their opposition. But was it a pious deed to overthrow institutions, which our opponents say, were founded by apostles? Was it virtuous to trample upon what sacred authority had established? The Reviewer, however, seems unwilling to agree with either of these classes, but supposes that the motives which led to one usurpation after another, were “like a mingled yarn, of good and ill together.” What credit shall we give to either, and who will guide us in making the distinction?

We are next favoured with some arguments, to account for the moderation of the reformers in stopping

their purgations on the other side of Episcopacy, instead of opening the flood gates to sweep away root and branch. We do not doubt, that the Reviewer and his party are very willing to do, what the reformers omitted.\* If the dispositions manifested in this Review, and in a certain "Letter" published a little before, are any evidence, we certainly are at liberty to draw this conclusion. We thank God, that these writers were not in the place of the reformers. The characters and abilities of the ecclesiastical reformers we are willing to leave to the estimation of all men, assuredly believing that they stand on too sacred ground,—that they are too far above the reach of malevolence, to be injured by pedantry or sectarian bitterness. Their reputation is as a rock, and has stood harder buffets by far, than these writers are competent to give. We are not now speaking of rulers and kings, nor of that civil policy which might lead them, now to cherish, and now to discountenance, the efforts of pure and undefiled.

\* "If amidst so much that is admirable, in the character, and conduct of the first reformers, we might be permitted to allot the meed of praise to any particular part, I should have no hesitation in assigning it to that singular moderation and discernment, which distinguished the Reformation from all other Revolutions,—which overcoming the common infirmities of our nature, by which men are apt to run from one extreme to its opposite, controlled the spirit of innovation in the moment of reform, rejected nothing without examination; retained nothing without authority; and when it abjured the usurpations of the church of Rome, discarded only its corruptions, and left all that had the stamp of christianity behind; like the fire which separates and consumes the dross,—but preserves and refines all that was pure in the ore." *Dr. Taylor's answer to the question, Why are you a Churchman.*

religion, escaping from the enthrallments of spiritual dominion and corruption.†

† The Reviewer makes use of an old puritan parody on the scripture ; for what purpose he best knows. When he says that the Episcopal church “ still stands on the foundation of the *Lords and Commons of England*,” did he mean to convey the idea, that the Episcopal church was necessarily dependant on the church of England, or, that there is any connection between the church in America, and the government of England ? If he did, and one or two other passages bear the same construction, we envy neither his opinion nor his principle : and not much more honourable to him is this parody, if he meant to assert by it, that even the church of England as a *spiritual* communion rests on that foundation. True, he quotes Mr. Sparks as saying, that “ the power of the English clergy is *confessedly* derived from the king and not from any church,” but it is the *precise reverse* of this assertion which is true, and it is so easily proved so, that we might positively dispute the *learning* of those who commit themselves upon it. They do not seem to comprehend any distinction between *inherent power*, and *legal jurisdiction*. “ It is undeniable,—says Dr. Bowden, (vol. ii. p. 115.) alluding to the reign of Henry VIIIth, that it was the doctrine of the king, of the bishops, and the whole nation, that authority to administer the sacraments, and to perform all other spiritual offices, was derived not from the crown, but from Christ. This doctrine was explicitly maintained in the “ Institution of a christian man,” as may be seen by consulting Collier. And that it was maintained by the king, is evident from a letter of his to the convocation of York, explaining the supremacy. That letter may be seen in Chandler’s Appeal defended, (p. 54.) Therein the king makes a clear distinction between the *temporal* and *spiritual* power of the bishops ; the former he derives from the state,—the latter from Christ. During the reign of Edward VIth, bishops were commonly appointed by the king’s letters patent. “ By those letters it is clear,—says Bishop Burnet,—that the Episcopal function was acknowledged to be of *divine* appointment, and that the person was no other way named by the king than as lay



cannot alter the state of the creation,—the order of things,—or make the world greater, or less than it is :—that the first cause is limited in the creation of human souls, and cannot exceed such a fixed and determinate number, or annihilate any thing :—that our Saviour had three natures in a separate sense, &c.\* These imputed opinions, are it is true, taken from the writings of the enemies of Wickliffe, but, so likewise, is the opinion given as his, by the Reviewer. Is the Reviewer then ready to adopt Wickliffe's opinions in all respects, or will he subscribe to those *alone* which make against Episcopacy ?

The Reviewer also brings before us the question, or rather *one* of the questions of Henry VIII. to his prelates. To the tenth question, whether bishops or priests were first ? Cranmer gave the following answer,—"Bishops and priests were at one time and were no two things but both one office, in the beginning of Christ's religion." And to this we most fully assent as will be seen by recurring to our scripture account of the orders of the ministry. "The two appellations for the second order, were used as synonymous, till the death of the apostles," &c. But what was meant by the prelates will appear by their answers to the 11th question which the Reviewer has not chosen to produce. "Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest, by scripture, or not?" Dr. Redmayn's answer, in part was ;—"As for making, that is, to say, ordaining, and consecrating of priests, I think it especially belongeth to the office of a bishop, *as far as can be shown from scripture, or any example*, as I sup-

\* Collier, as quoted by Bowden, vol. ii. p. 81.

pose from the beginning." "In short,"—says Dr. Bowden, from whom the above is taken,—“they all agreed that none but bishops have authority to make priests;—a few making exceptions to cases of extreme necessity.” It is obvious that the term bishop in this question refers to bishops as then constituted.\*

We are next told, that “the pretensions to a divine right of Episcopacy seems indeed to have been first started by Dr. Bancroft in 1588.” And yet this is the same Dr. Bancroft, who, is relied on to prove that presbyterian ordination was considered valid in the case of the Scotch Bishops! Could he hold both these opinions? Certainly not. We have shown his opinion in the latter case to be not such as represented by our opponents. “The doctrine,—says the Reviewer,—was then so new even to high-churchmen, that Whitgift, than whom no man was ever more tenacious of church authority, said, he rather wished than believed it to be true.” The want of credibility to this anecdote, does not seem to have staggered our opponents, who bring it up on all occasions of attack. Dr. Chauncey quoted it from Neal, in his controversy with Dr. Chandler many years since. Neal refers to Strype’s life of Whitgift. Dr. Chandler sought it, and lo! it was not there. But he found, however, that, in 1589, one year later, Whitgift said in his reply to the calumnies of Martin Mar-prelate, that, “he was persuaded

\* Dr. Bowden refers to Burnet’s Hist. lib. iii. p. 323, et seq.—and to Collier’s Ecclesiastical Hist. Col. records, No. lxix. p. 50, et seq. See also Bowden, vol. iii. p. 325. et seq. We need not ask a stronger testimony to Episcopacy than the extract given by the Reviewer from the king’s book. The three orders are distinctly mentioned.

there ought to be, by the word of God, a superiority among the ministers of the church ; and that it was sufficiently proved in his own book against Cartwright. And that he was at all times ready to justify it by the Holy scriptures, and by the testimony of all antiquity. This clearly shows that Whitgift did not merely *wish* but *believed* Bancroft's doctrine to be true."\* And yet he is here speaking of the same book from which an extract is given in a note to the Review. He was contending against the notion early adopted by the Puritans, that, " God had given in the scriptures, a complete and unchangeable form, both for church and state government ;" and the utmost of his meaning, in the Reviewers quotation, is, that there is not in scripture any such *detailed* and *prescribed system*. Else how are we to understand his own opinion, above expressed, of his own book ? And how shall we understand the following expressions, which occur in his letter to Beza ; (1598) " We make no doubt that the Episcopal degree which we bear is an institution *apostolical* and *divine* ; and so hath always been held, by a continual course of times, from the apostles' to this very age of ours." Again : " What Aaron was to his sons, and to the Levites, this the bishops were to the priests and deacons ; and so esteemed of the fathers to be by *divine institution*."†

\* Chandler's Appeal defended, p. 37, as quoted by Bowden, vol. ii. p. 101. The truth, as it regards Bishop Bancroft, seems to be, that he was the first protestant divine, of whom we have information that he *preached* publicly the doctrine referred to. The Reviewer appears to have substituted *started for preached*. Hence the error.

† Strype's life of Whitgift, pp. 350, 460. Quoted in How's letters to Miller.

Both these extracts are taken from the *same volume* to which the Reviewer refers for the extract which he has adduced to support his own opinion. Had he no knowledge of them? If he had, can he feel justified in endeavouring to represent as Whitgift's opinion, what he must have known not to have been his? These testimonies are explicit and cannot be evaded; and the Reviewer's extract must be interpreted in consistency with them. It was sixteen years after the publication of Whitgift's reply to Cartwright, that Bancroft's sermon was preached.

Archbishop Usher neither denied nor doubted the distinction between bishop and priest. He professed to deduce Episcopacy from the apostles; and though he contended for the distinction of the schoolmen, that the difference was in *degree*, and not in *order*, yet he certainly admitted that where ordination by bishops could be obtained, that by presbyters was invalid.\* Bishop Burnet in his Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, says "Christ appointed a succession of pastors, in different ranks, to be continued in his church for the work of the gospel, and as the apostles settled the churches, they appointed different orders of bishops, priests and deacons."† What credit then shall be given to the assertion so boldly made by the Reviewer, that these divines "either denied or doubted the distinction between the orders of bishop and priest?" Or what regard shall be paid to the sweeping clause with which he includes "most of the learned and moderate reformers," as collectively publishing to the

\* Bowden, vol. ii. p. 112.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 119.

world, what, individually, they either doubted or denied? These statements are extremely well fitted for circulation among men who have little acquaintance with, or have prejudices against, the Episcopal church; but they ill become men, who openly boast of their talents and learning; and they certainly are but bad specimens of "*uncorrupt christianity*."

The Reviewer considers it "very remarkable that in the very articles of that church which now asserts (as if it was a novelty!) this distinction of orders to be vital to its constitution, the distinction is entirely overlooked, in that part which treats of the institution of ministers to their office; so doubtful a thing was the existing organization thought to be." Now will it not be supposed, from this remark, either that the church in her public formularies has said nothing on the subject of orders, but what is contained in this article, or that the Reviewer was desirous, at least, it should be so considered? That the first is not the true case will now be shown; our readers will form their own opinion as to the last. The thirty-sixth article of the church says—"The book of consecration of *bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons*, set forth by the General Convention of this church in 1792, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering; neither hath it any thing that of itself is superstitious and ungodly; and therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to said form, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly and lawfully consecrated, and ordered."\*

\* The 36th Article of the Church of England, from which the American is taken with such modifications as were rendered ne-

From the ordinal, we have already given some extracts which relate to this point, and we now give another ;—

“ To the intent that these orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed in this church, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon in this church, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, tried, examined, and admitted thereunto, according to the form hereafter following ; or hath had Episcopal consecration or ordination.” *Preface.* The twenty-third article, to which the Reviewer refers, simply declares, as will be apparent to those who peruse it,—that no man ought to take on himself the ministry ; on the contrary, those ought to be received as such who are appointed by men having authority therefor. Who has that authority ? How are we to know when men are lawfully sent ?

necessary by the change of our political condition, runs thus :—“ The Book of Consecration of [Archbishops and] Bishops, and ordering of priests and deacons, [lately] set forth [in the time of Edward the sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament] doth contain, &c.

“ And therefore whosoever are consecrated [and] ordered according to [the rites of that book since the second year of the aforementioned king Edward unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same rites,] we decree, &c.

We have subjoined the English Article, including in brackets the parts altered or omitted in ours, in order to give the Reviewer's argument all the force it can receive. Not even the Reviewer will suppose that the American Episcopal Church intended to overlook the distinction of orders, as a doubtful organization. His whole argument therefore rests upon the supposed intention of the original framers of the Articles, or of the Convocation in 1562.

When they are consecrated bishops, and ordained priests, or deacons,—according to the ordinal,—says the thirty-sixth article: and till that is done, or they have had Episcopal ordination,—says the preface to the ordinal,—they shall not be suffered to execute the functions of the ministry in this church. Will it be said, that if this is the doctrine of the church it ought to be stated fully in the twenty-third, or any other article? Where is the necessity for this? Is not the ordinal substantially a part of the thirty-sixth? Or is it not as fully the doctrine of the church? The Reviewer, however, would have it supposed that the church is *studiously indistinct* on this point, and yet, when the odious sin of Calvinism is to be fixed upon her, in defiance of the opinions of multitudes of her learned divines, oh then! her language is “*studied preeision*,”—and if this is disallowed,—“it will be difficult to prove any thing by human testimony.” How abundant is that *liberality*, which finds us forever in the wrong; which charges us “with shutting our eyes upon whatever *learning* and *piety* may do to illustrate certain obscurities in the religious system,” and which will not allow us even to understand the principles to which we have solemnly promised to conform, but would hold us up to the world as blind leaders of the blind,—as deceiving and being deceived.

The Reviewer in his zeal against Episcopacy forgets his *prudence*. He tells us on one page, that the divine right was first *started* by Bancroft in 1588, and yet on the next he quotes Henderson as saying in the name of the clergy of Britain, in 1646, fifty-eight years later, that it “was not pleaded till of late by some few,”

Henderson,—if we are not mistaken,—was a *presbyterian* minister of Scotland, and utterly destitute, as we believe, of any authority to speak in the name of the clergy of Britain. Hume calls him a popular and *intriguing* preacher. He was one of the commissioners sent up from Scotland to Charles I. at Oxford, to press him to an admission of their principles. At this time he cautiously shunned a conference with the divines of Oxford on this same point.\* Besides, the assertion does not appear to be true. We have shown that the reformers themselves held the doctrine, though, perhaps they did not publicly “plead” or defend it. In that same year (1646)—that MEMORABLE year—“the hierarchy,”—says the Reviewer,—“was *abolished* by act of Parliament, the same authority by which it is now upheld.”—Here we must lay down our pen, and pause to recover our abused patience.

Is it for the purpose not merely of exciting against the church, the opposition of principle, but to render it *odious*, he so constantly exhibits to his readers the calumny that its ministry was, and is actually *founded* on the government of England?—that he labours at every possible opportunity to show its dependence upon that government? Is his mind too dull to discriminate between the things which are Cæsar’s, and the things which are God’s? When he says “the hierarchy was *abolished* by act of Parliament,” does he mean that the Parliament took away the spiritual power of the bishops?—that it took away from them their inherent right to ordain and govern in the church? He certain-

\* Hume’s History of England, Balt. ed. vol. vi. p. 38.



ly must know, that the Parliament never had, and never pretended to have, any such power ; of course, that they never exercised, or pretended to exercise, such power ; except, perhaps, when the “ *godly*” and “ *well-affected*” Independents formed its majority. The only power which it possessed, and from the nature of the case, the only power which it could possess, was that of depriving the bishops of their revenues, and of their temporal jurisdiction. That is, they threatened them with the power of the secular arm, (no trifling menace, when we consider what spirit nerved it,) if they dared to exercise it. But does the Reviewer believe that if the General Court of Massachusetts—(we allude not *now* to what *has been* ) should abolish Episcopacy from the state, and prohibit its ministers from officiating, that they would thereby be deprived of their ministerial character ? The case is applicable, and if he does not see it so, it is from his habit of thinking that *spiritual* power is derived from the people, and not from Christ. Does he believe that either the English parliament, or the English church, deny the validity of the orders of the American bishops, and their ability to exercise the authority of those orders ? And yet what have those bishops to do with the *English* parliament, church, or king ? Has the Reviewer never heard of the Episcopal church of Scotland ? Is he ignorant that though the bishops of that church, were, at the Revolution, deprived of every thing connected with their office, which the civil power *could* take from them, yet they continued to exercise their *spiritual* functions in the very face of penal laws made against them, in consequence of their adherence to the fallen house of Stuart ? “ They

lost,"—says Skinner,—“ their revenues, and *temporal jurisdiction*, but *their spiritual authority still remained* ; and that ‘ gift of God,’ which they had received by the imposition of Episcopal hands, they considered themselves bound to exercise, for promoting that Episcopal work in the church of God, which had been committed to them. By virtue of this commission, they continued in a quiet manner, to discharge the duties of their spiritual function. They ordained ministers for such vacant congregations as adhered to their communion, and when they saw it necessary to attend to the preservation of their own order, they proceeded to the consecration of such persons as were thought most proper for being invested with that sacred and important trust, without asking permission either from the exiled or reigning prince.” When in 1792 they applied to the British parliament for a repeal of the laws against them, Bishop Horsely said of them, that, “ losing all their political capacity, they retained, however, the authority of the pure spiritual *Episcopacy* within the church itself ;” and the whole bench of English bishops unanimously opposed the passing of an act which seemed to infringe the validity of the Scotch Episcopal orders. The laws against that church were repealed, and though, even now, she has no connection with the state, she still preserves her pure *Episcopacy*, and holds up her head as a distinguished and venerable branch of the church of Christ.\* Many of the most

\* Skinner's *Primitive Truth*, pp. 265—289. See also R. Adam's *Relig. World displayed*, vol. ii. p. 411. *Prideaux's Connections*, Charlestown ed. vol. iii. p. 222. And above note on page 43.

distinguished laity of the kingdom,—says Adam,—have since entered her communion ;—several clergy-men ordained by English bishops have entered her service, and one of them has been raised to the Episcopate.† When Episcopacy was *abolished* in Scotland, the presbyterian government was established as its substitute ; has any one, whether in “ presbyterian fetters” or out of them, ever pretended that presbyterianism was therefore founded on the English government ? Was it the case with congregationalism in New-England’s early day ; a time when no church could be formed without permission from the civil magistrate ? Or must we remind the Reviewer of the adage, which teaches incautious persons to beware of casting stones ?

But the hierarchy was *abolished*. In one sense we admit it was. The bishops were deprived of their revenues, forbidden to execute their office, and driven

† In Edinburgh, the literary metropolis of Britain, “ from whatever cause, the Episcopal party is evidently increasing in numbers, personal consideration and resources.” *Christian Observer*, vol. xviii. p. 644. “ The Scotch Episcopal Church, can produce a very respectable list of learned names,”—says Adam (vol. ii. pp. 444–5) “ notwithstanding her fluctuating fortune, and under all the disadvantages arising from her frequently depressed condition.” Among her modern writers may be mentioned the elder Skinner, author of an Ecclesiastical History of Scotland in two volumes, and “ one of the best Latin poets that Scotland can boast since the days of Buchanan,”—Bishop Skinner, son to the former, and author of the work in reply to Dr. Campbell, entitled *Primitive Truth*, &c. which we have frequently quoted,—Dr. Alison, author of some volumes of Sermons, and of a work on Taste,—and among her laity, Sir William Forbes, author of the life of Dr. Beattie, &c.

into exile.\* It was the victory of men of sanguinary minds and blood-stained hands. "Thus was christian liberty recovered for a little season in England."

The Reviewer does not say expressly, for he, probably, had his doubts, but he leaves his readers to imply that the Waldenses, a sect, which existed in Piedmont, were *not* *Episcopalians*. They were not only such, but they were the earliest *protestant* *Episcopalians* of whom we have any account. They date their *origin* as a sect in the time of Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, A. D. 316, and they were certainly known to exist *as early* as the latter part of the seventh century. Dr. Mosheim, who is by presbyterians and congregationalists in general, allowed to be a correct, as well as candid writer, and who was *not* himself an *Episcopalian*, says expressly,—“that the government of the church, was committed by the Waldenses to bishops, priests, and deacons, for they acknowledged that these three ecclesiastical orders were instituted by Christ himself.”† Our readers will doubtless be satisfied with this declaration, but if not, we refer them to Dr. Bowden’s *Letters to Dr. Miller*, vol. ii. p. 77, et seq. and vol. iii. p. 331, et seq. where as we think, the question is put to rest forever. The Moravian Church is acknowledged on all hands to be *Episcopal*, and it was from the bishops of the Waldenses that the Moravians first received the

\* NINE of the English bishops were “providentially preserved,” and returning at the time of the restoration of the king, were re-instated in their former dioceses, except Dr. Juxon, who was appointed to Canterbury,—the vacant dioceses were soon filled, and the church re-established. Adam, vol. ii. p. 409. Skinner, p. 264.

† Eccles. Hist. vol. iii. p. 126.

Episcopacy. The labours of this humble branch of the church, the missions she has established in Greenland, in South Africa, in the West Indies, and on the borders of our own country, cannot be unknown to our readers. Many of her missionaries are unlearned and simple men, but, with a self-denial approaching to martyrdom, they have carried the light of truth to regions where the religion of the cross, and almost all the charities of life were unknown. God has blessed their labours :—may he still continue to bless them.

Our readers can now judge, with what force of reasoning, *accurate learning*, and copious proofs, the advocates of Episcopacy were to be driven from all their positions. We have little doubt of the issue.

. But another question occurs. The Reviewer, supposing he has displaced Episcopacy from the ground of divine institution, goes, at some length, into the question of *expediency*. Now with this question, we, as members of the church have, literally, *nothing to do*. We have shown that its divine institution, is the doctrine of the church,—was the belief of the reformers, and of the fathers,—and that Episcopacy is plainly to be found on the pages of Holy Scripture itself. We see then no necessity for discussing it on humbler pretensions. Questions of mere expediency stretch themselves over a wide extent of ground, and very generally terminate at the same point at which the discussion commenced. The speculator exhausts himself, and in vain; for he finds, at last, he has done little, or nothing, towards conviction. Such is the structure of the human mind, that whatever subject may be left open for opinion, will create variance. Let us reason then as we

may on this question, destitute, as we are, of any fixed and acknowledged principles, from which to draw conclusions, we should never bring it to an end. We consider the true question to be a question of fact. We would not remove it from its hallowed base. Its long and almost uniform existence, contrasted with the variable nature of all other systems, is enough on the score of expediency.

We cannot, however, lightly pass over, every thing the Reviewer has mingled with his speculations. He is frequently at war with fact, and we must expose him. He represents as barely acquiescing in Episcopacy, and of course denying its divine institution, "the *best* of the early reformers, and the most judicious writers of later times." Our readers have seen what dependence is to be placed on his representations of the opinions of the reformers, and his examples of the *most judicious* writers of later times, as will be shown, are not much more to his purpose. Bishop Sanderson, writing upon this subject, says,—“besides that it is clear from evident texts of scripture, and from the testimony of as ancient and authentic records, as the world hath any to show, for the attesting of any other part of the established doctrine of the church of England; so it is evidently deduced out of sundry passages in the book of consecration (ordinal) and hath been constantly and uniformly maintained by our *best* writers and by all the sober, orderly, and orthodox sons of the church.”\* The Reviewer calls to his aid the names of Sir. P. King, Chillingworth, Hoadly, Hammond, Prettyman,

\* Quoted by Bowden, vol. ii. p. 127.

Locke and Paley. *Sir P. King* we consider too doubtful to be any support to his cause. He wrote his "Enquiry" at twenty-two, from an ardent and laudable desire to still the religious dissensions of his country; it was refuted by Slater;—it is variously said, that he acknowledged the refutation; and it is certain, that, when he became Lord Chancellor he preferred Slater in the church. These things have often been stated in church controversy, and never yet denied.\* It is not a little remarkable, that the very writers who exclaim so loudly against the use of the ancient fathers, can have so ready recourse to the work of this author, made up of garbled extracts from these very fathers, and of reasoning, inconclusive, because built upon those extracts. *Chillingworth* wrote a treatise to demonstrate the apostolic institution of Episcopacy, and we have already exhibited an extract from that treatise, which, one would think, was plain enough on this point. *Prettyman* (now *Tomline*) Bishop of Lincoln, on the twenty-third article, after a long detail of authorities from the New Testament and early fathers, says,—“It seems therefore as clear as written testimony can make it that *Bishops were appointed by the apostles*; that there were three distinct orders of ministers, namely, bishops, priests and deacons in the primitive church; and that there has been a regular succession of Bishops from the apostolic age to the present, and we may safely challenge the enemies of Episcopacy to produce evidence of a single ancient, independent church which was not governed by a Bishop.” *Hammond*, speaking of the

\* *Adam's Relig. World*, vol. ii. p. 292.—*Skinner's Prim. Truth*, p. 164. *note*. *Bowden*, vol. ii. p. 121.

powers given to the apostles by the Holy Ghost, says, "4thly, to ordain others, and to commit the same powers to those which the Holy Ghost had settled in themselves, and so to provide a ministry of his holy, celestial calling, (*sent by Christ*, as he was by the Father, John xx. 21.) to continue by succession to the end of the world."\* By what fatality could the Reviewer have quoted such a writer as opposed to the divine institution of the ministry? Even Dr. Miller says of him, that he was, "perhaps the ablest advocate of prelacy that ever lived." *Hoadly's* opinion was not always such as in the Bangorian controversy. In his *Reasonableness of Conformity*, (p. 4.) he has left behind him the following testimony,—“We think we can demonstrate that in the primitive times, the administration of ecclesiastical affairs was in the hands of bishops, who had presbyters subject to them. That as the apostles maintained a superiority over the presbyters of the churches they constituted, so upon occasion of their absence they settled others in that superiority. That as these *succeeding the apostles* had the power of ordination committed to them, &c.” In another place speaking of the universal concurrence of “every one who speaks of the government of the church in any place,” he says, “from which testimonies I cannot but think it highly reasonable to infer that Episcopacy was of apostolic institution.”† Was it perfectly fair then that the Reviewer should claim these “judicious writers” as merely *acquiescing* in Episcopacy? We think not. *Paley and Locke*

\* Practical Catechism ; London ed. 1677, p. 341.

† Quoted by Bowden, vol. iii. p. 161. See also the same writer, vol. i. p. 303, and vol. ii. p. 276.



we suppose we must yield to him. But then what a powerful host of great names might we throw into the opposite scale. Bacon, Hooker, Andrews, Hall, Leslie, Law, Taylor, Horne, Jones, Horseley and innumerable others who shone as lights of the intellectual and moral world? If numbers availed, the question might soon be decided, for, "the church of England hath constantly insisted,"—says Mosheim,—“on the divine origin of its government and discipline.”\*

The presumption of the Reviewer, with regard to the opinions of the *mass* of churchmen in this country is indeed *gross* presumption, and sufficiently proves upon what inconclusive ground he is disposed to rest.

In the course of his remarks, the Reviewer brings forward a very serious charge, which, before he ventured to put it upon paper, he should have been well satisfied was fully *true*. But it is not true: and it is one of the lightest expressions which can be bestowed on his conduct, either that he was ignorant of the subject, or that he was careless as to facts, provided a strong case be made out against the Episcopal church. In dealing with such an enemy our forbearance is greatly put to task. We are prepared to bear much,—to witness much misrepresentation,—to read many strange tales,—but we must be expected to feel in some manner, when our enemies cast off principle, that they may accuse us of a want of it. The Reviewer says,—“We believe we may say *without contradiction* that in no other denomination is discipline in so low a state.—We speak of evils belonging to the system.—We speak of the control over communicants, the only spiritual

\* Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 231.

authority now exercised.—*Instead* of a good life and conversation, the condition of sharing in the most sacred act of christian fellowship set forth in the formularies of a sect which defines the church to be ‘a congregation of faithful men,’ is his ability to repeat the creed, the Lord’s prayer, and the ten commandments, and to answer such other questions as in the short catechism are contained. A candidate who can stand this ordeal has a *right* to confirmation by the bishop, and *the priest is liable to excommunication* if after this he refuse him the elements.” With churchmen, this statement will require no explanation, for they will at once see how *false* it is ; but it is calculated, as we have said of some of his former statements, to impose on others. Now, what is the fact ? All baptized persons are required to present themselves to the bishop for two purposes, that they may ratify and confirm the conditions of faith and repentance upon which they had been baptized, and that the bishop may ratify and confirm by the laying on of hands the act of baptism performed by an inferior minister whose authority is derived from him. A discretionary power is by the rubric vested in the minister of every parish, for preventing unfit, or improper persons, from being imposed on the bishop, and, questionless, on all such occasions, he should use that power. And “to the end that confirmation may be administered to the more edifying of such as shall receive it, the church hath thought good to order, that *none shall be confirmed but such* as can say the creed, the Lord’s prayer, &c. which order is very convenient to be observed, to the end, that children having now come to years of discretion, and having learned what their Godfathers and

Godmothers had promised for them in baptism, *may themselves with their own mouth and consent, ratify and confirm the same*, and also *promise that by the grace of God, they will evermore endeavor themselves faithfully to observe all such things as they, by their own confession, have assented unto.*" Now here, so far from giving a *right*, to all who can say the creed, &c. of admission to confirmation, the object is to prevent from receiving it all those who have not a proper understanding, of the baptismal vow or covenant: and one would think with regard to the promise required, that if assumed in sincerity, it must have a near, if not an intimate, connection with "a good life and conversation." We are not prepared to say, however, that this ordinance is not occasionally abused, that children beneath years of discretion, are not sometimes, made its subjects, and that the vital deficiency of sincerity in the promise, is not, in some instances, subsequently ascertained. And we doubt not, that impositions of this nature have sometimes found their way into the congregations of the "Boston association of ministers," as well as into other congregations based upon the *platforms* of New-England, even at the solemn "owning of the covenant." We question the ability of any men to form an inquisition which can penetrate to the heart, and observe its secret workings;—we know not how many apparently *good* actions may have originated in *bad* motives; and it is *easy* to be seen, that the *popular* opinion, even of good men, is not always unanimous. We have had some experience on this subject, and have deeply felt its difficulties. We could quote one of the "judicious writers," of whom the Reviewer has spoken, if we had

room, to this purpose, but we must be content with referring our readers to him.\* We see then that the *right* is not such as the Reviewer represents, but that there are some very serious checks, sufficiently strong, we would say, for one "not over much attached to narrow conditions of admission to christian privileges." But the chief aim of the Reviewer is at the communion discipline, and this, it is obvious, he does not, or will not, understand. A rubric, at the end of the confirmation office, says,—“There shall none be admitted to the Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.” Would any of our readers from such a rule have drawn the opinion, that all confirmed persons, whatever may be their lives and conversations, should have necessarily a *right* to the Holy Supper, the refusal of which in a priest, should render him *liable to excommunication*? Yet such is the case with the Reviewer, for there is not, in all the offices and rubrics of the church, a single rule to justify this preposterous opinion. The following rubrics are for the government of the clergy in this respect. “If among those who come to be partakers of the Holy Communion, the Minister shall know *any* to be an open and notorious evil liver, or to have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed, so that the Congregation be thereby offended; he shall advertise him, that he *presume not to come* to the Lord’s Table until he have openly declared himself to have truly repented, and amended his former evil life, that the Congregation may thereby be satisfied; and that he hath recompensed the parties to

\* See Hammond’s Practical Catechism, p. 393, et seq.

whom he hath done wrong; or at least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do, as soon as he conveniently may. The same order shall the Minister use with those, betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reign; *not suffering them* to be partakers of the Lord's Table until he know them to be reconciled, &c."\* How much farther would this *rigid* disciplinarian stretch the ecclesiastical power? In England, for the Reviewer carries us thither on this point also, these rubrics are *Law*, and are as much a rule to the Judges in Westminster Hall, as to the Curate of a parish.†

The Reviewer next lays before us some farther speculations upon the *possibilities* and *peradventures* of the Episcopal system; to all which we need only say that most of them are amply refuted by experience, and the rest are mere conjectures as to what may possibly occur by the abuse of the system. "We are not of those who dream of perfection in this world," to use the language of Gov. Winthrop; and we know of no system administered by man which has not its difficulties. We think, however, that Episcopacy is as free from them as any, at least, which its opponents have been able to devise. What is the case with regard to congregationalism? Is not its character much changed from the first foundation of Robinson, and even from the platforms of Cambridge and Saybrook? Is there at present a per-

\* See also Canon xxv. General Convention, and Canon iii. 1817.

† See Sherlock and Horseley on the Test Acts.—The Reviewer differs we suspect from Dr. Priestley. He was desirous of having the Lord's supper administered to *children*.—Had an Episcopalian proposed this how loud would have been the shout,—a *Papist*, a *Papist*.

fect concord among its adherents in regard to its beauties and defects? Is there no desire for alteration? Is there no angry opposition to that desire? Is it not a system, almost to a proverb, various, and disconnected, —transient as the rainbow, and, like it, indescribable? It would be far from our wishes to defend all the details of the English church, connected as she is with the civil government of that country. We are no friends to such an union, whether the Ecclesiastics are, as in England, “my Lords Bishops,” or as in New-England formerly, “my Lords Brethren.” Episcopacy in this country must rest upon its intrinsic merits, and, founded as it is upon primitive and apostolic principles, we make no question of its being well adapted to its object. The Episcopate may, in one sense, be considered a desirable station, for it is evidently one of respectability and dignity, but it certainly calls to greater trials, responsibility, and cares, than an inferior office, and one of the present House of Bishops has even quoted the observation of Bishop Taylor, that “the honour does not pay the burden ;” and as to emoluments, none, deserving the name, are in any instance attached to it. Of the respectability, the talents, and the piety, of those who now fill that station among us, we believe no question will be made. Several of them are learned, and all of them are well educated and well informed men.

But the Reviewer brings us back again to the *divine right*. And here *we* must rest Episcopacy. In our consciences we believe the claim to be just. We hope our readers are prepared, if not to admit it, yet, at least, to believe it a point deserving full examination. Let them enquire then into its evidences ; they will find

them copious and strong. And let them take along with them this reflection, that it has been advocated, through a series of ages, by men of powerful talents, of unquestioned erudition, and of the sincerest piety. Still however, let us not be misunderstood. We repeat that by the *divine institution* of Episcopacy, we mean the establishment of three orders in the ministry, bishops, priests and deacons, by the Apostles, acting under the plenitude of power, given them by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Our attention is next called by the Reviewer, to the consideration of forms of prayer in general, as introductory to some "graver charges against the Episcopal book of common prayer." He does not deny the *lawfulness* of set forms :—He esteems it a matter of minor importance, whether our petitions are offered up in the words of others or our own :—He is not blind to the advantages, or defects, of either of the different methods adopted in congregations, and he does not defend extemporaneous prayer, but admits that there are objections to it which we have been accustomed to consider both strong and serious. What then would *he* have ? He prefers *free* prayer :—That is, he, as a leader of the devotions of his congregation, shall be at liberty to pray as *he* pleases ;—that he may to-day pray without any form at all,—to-morrow take with him into the pulpit an outline, or skeleton, to which, on the impulse of the moment, he may give dimensions and stature, and the next day "read prayers to God" from a form of his own compiling, borrowed, perhaps, in no trifling measure from that identical book of common prayer, which he would have his readers esteem such a

bugbear. We have mixed, somewhat, in our earlier days, among those who reject the use of Liturgies, and we assure our readers, that we have frequently discovered this purloining practice, where a different opinion is considered desirable. We are inclined to think that this assumption of the minister to act his own pleasure in every respect, in so important a transaction as the worship of God, is somewhat "papistical," if not rather on the worst side of popery.\* Have the congregation really nothing to do in worship, but to listen? To pretend they can do more, under these circumstances, is, to our view, preposterous; and we suspect from the manner in which the Reviewer treats this part of his subject, that his own convictions lean to forms, and that whatever he may write against them for popularity's

\* The following extract may serve to amuse the reader:—a glance of the eye will convince him where it is applicable. "The laity of the church of Scotland lie under greater hardships, with respect to public worship, than the laity of any church on earth. And this hardship is rendered still more galling to those who have sense enough to feel it, by the pompous harangues that we are frequently entertained with, upon the *privileges* that we possess above other Christians, the religious *liberty* that we enjoy, and the *singular purity* of our worship. Sure, gentlemen, you must mean *yourselves* when you ascribe these great blessings to our church, or you insult us in the most cruel manner. If you mean that *you* enjoy great privileges, and a most extensive liberty, it is very true, for *you* pray what *you* please, *you* sing what *you* please, *you* teach what *you* please, and our whole public worship is so much of *your* own manufacture, that there can hardly be found room for a verse or two of scripture; and these *you* choose as *you* please. In a word, every parish minister is a little pope." *Letter to the elders and ministers of the church of Scotland, by a Blacksmith.*



sake, yet he is, *abilities and cultivation* out of the question, often constrained to use them. He certainly does not venture upon any thing that deserves the name of argument, and the most conspicuous expressions to be found in the six or eight pages he has covered with his verbiage, are those in which he insinuates that set forms are useless among men, who (like himself, we suppose) being able to preach, are, *of course*, able to pray; as if he did not know that the most bitter opposition to forms of prayer, has come, almost universally, from the weak and ignorant, and that their use has been advocated by the most able talents which history has recorded. He is, certainly, desirous to keep *himself* unshackled, however much his course of proceeding may tend to shackle *others*. Are any of our readers disposed to believe that they may safely trust the management of their worship to the discretion of their minister? We would reply, though the remark is a trite one, that what is left to the discretion of the minister is left also to the *indiscretions* and the *passions* of the man;—and we sometimes at least find the two last, where the first only was looked for.\* But, even admitting that the congregation do more

\* We are familiar with an instance of a candidate for the *congregational* ministry, who visiting, during his probation, one of our largest cities, attended the ministry of two of the most respectable presbyterian clergymen. In the morning, Dr. —, an advocate for the *war*, used in relation to it, in *prayer*, words something like these,—“May God go forth with our armies,—teach their hands to war, and their fingers to fight,” &c. In the evening, Dr. —, an advocate for *peace*, prayed that “God would have mercy upon our abandoned soldiery,—restrain them from blood,” &c. This glaring inconsistency had such an effect on this gentleman, that it produced a revolution in his opinions, and led him ultimately into

than listen,—that they actually are able to join with their minister in his *free* prayer, they then, as we com-

the Episcopal church ; of which he is now a respectable minister. We might fill a volume with instances of these absurdities. Doubtless all of our readers, who are familiar with this mode of worship, can recollect some which have occurred within their own knowledge. Who does not know of the disposition to meddle with state affairs, which, time immemorial, has been vented in the pulpit throughout New-England on the semi-annual returns of fast and thanksgiving days. If it is said, that Episcopal *pulpits* are not free from this censure, we reply that it has not yet been able to find its way into the *desk*, to mingle with the *prayers*, an advantage, which we dispassionately think, to be no small one. The English authors of a "New Directory for non-conformist Churches," quoted in a review in the Christian Observer, after condemning a similar practice in their own country, as well as other defects in their mode of worship, say—"This is highly reprehensible. But how much more so is it, in Christian ministers, when addressing the Almighty, to throw out bitter reproofs, or sarcastic reflections, on any of their fellow Christians, whether present or absent, on account of either obnoxious sentiments, or suspicious conduct. Yet we are sorry to say, we have known ministers ready, on all occasions, in this way to indulge their angry passions, and that, even towards their brethren." The following is from the same source. "It may serve to set some people right in this matter [the dissenting mode of prayer] to reflect upon the ingenuous confession, made by one who had been much admired, and followed for his talent in praying extempore. Dr. Mapletost, having a prayer read to him, which had been a good time before, taken from his own mouth in short-hand, and being asked his judgement of it, found so many absurd and indecent expressions, that when he was told, *he was the man* who had used it, he begged God's pardon for his former bold presumption and folly, and resolved never more to offend in this kind, but to pen first of all the prayers he should hereafter use in public." See also the *Blacksmith's Letter*. The same authors, speaking of the disuse of the Bible among the

ceive, undeniably pray by a form, and, as far as they are concerned, a set form too ; for they pray in the words of another, in words which they participate neither in framing nor in uttering, and of which indeed they have no knowledge till they are uttered. Of all forms we conceive these the most objectionable.\*

It is an unquestioned fact that the Jews in their public worship used a set form of prayers. "The world,"—says Wheatley,—“is fully satisfied of this truth from the concurrent testimony of the best writers on antiquities.” In what way could this custom have arisen ? As it was intimately blended with their religious institutions, it is hardly probable that it could have origi-

Independents and others, which it seems was kept aside only to be used as a sort of *creed*, say,—“Half a century ago, there was scarcely one of these societies in London, where the reading of a chapter in the Bible would have been tolerated, and in most of their meetings in the country, (though almost half the people could not read) it would have been considered as a mark of heterodoxy for a minister to read the Bible to them !” Have their brethren in this country purged out this leaven, or are *they* still a *little* “*papistical*” ?

\* The Reviewer does not seem to have been aware that some of his own reasons are, substantially, in favour of set forms.—“The topics of prayer are, from its nature, limited ; and ought to be and in a great degree are familiar.—Every person has forms of expression, which in some respect belong to him, and are a guide to his meaning before the whole is uttered.—Nor is every prayer offered in the church wholly different from all others,” &c. If resemblance in part to forms enhances the value of extemporaneous prayer, how much better would be entire conformity.—And if these remarks are true where the congregation are confined mostly to their own minister, how does it operate where exchanges of pulpit service, occur almost every week ?

nated in the unguided imagination of their own minds. Men had, doubtless, "prayed to God," as the Reviewer quotes Palmer as saying,—“two thousand years before any books were written,” but does it necessarily follow that because there were no books, there were no forms of prayer? Was oral communication impossible? Had tradition no existence? In one of the earliest books which was written, that of Deuteronomy, in the compass of a page or two there are no less than four forms of prayer, of *divine appointment*; and in the book of Numbers, there is also the well known blessing of the priests.\* That our Saviour made no objection to forms but rather approved them is shown by his attending the service of the Jewish Synagogue, where forms were always used, and from his giving a form to his disciples, whether as a pattern merely, or a *set* form, it is not now material to inquire. There is reason to believe that set forms were used in the primitive church. *Paley*,† speaking of the writings of Polycarp, who, he says, “Had been taught by the apostles,” observes,—“I select the following as fixing the authority of the Lord’s prayer, and the use of it among the primitive Christians.—If therefore we *pray* the Lord that he will *forgive us, we ought also to forgive.*” “With supplication *beseeking* the all-seeing God, *not to lead us into temptation.*” *Wheatley* quotes several of the ancient Fathers to the

\* Numbers vi. 23–26. Deuteronomy xxi. 7–8.—xxvi. 3, 5–10, 13–15. These instances, with that of our Saviour, are, doubtless, what Dr. Wyatt alluded to, when he said, “the *lawfulness* of forms of prayer was established by a divine appointment.”

† Works, vol. ii. p. 112.

same effect.\* True, the Reviewer quotes Tertullian as saying,—“that they prayed without any other prompter than their own hearts,” but we certainly believe such prompting to be perfectly compatible with the use of a prescribed form ; and we also believe the same as to the sense of his quotation from Justin Martyr,—“ That the president prayed according to his ability,” or as we should read it, *with all his ability*. The ancient Liturgies called by the names of St. Peter, St. Mark, and St. James, although it will not now be asserted that they were actually written by those apostles, are yet unquestionably very ancient. That of St. James was certainly used in the church at Jerusalem in St. Cyril’s time, who was chosen Bishop of Jerusalem, about A. D. 350, and who, says St. Jerome, wrote a comment upon it *in his younger days*. Forms of prayer were used then in the primitive days of the church,—in the days of her purity, and it was not, probably, till “ ignorant and unworthy ecclesiastics” intruded themselves upon the church, “ in the fourth and fifth centuries,” that it was found necessary to impose authoritatively what before had been performed by common consent and freewill.

Of the expediency of forms of prayer in public worship we make no doubt, for we think them productive of great advantage.

They can be thoroughly digested and understood by the whole congregation before they are called upon to use them. The very nature of public worship supposes a participation on the part of the people. It is

\* Tertullian, Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom and others.

not to hear their minister pray to God ;—it is not to be captivated with the *enthusiasm*, or eloquence of his manner in prayer, that congregations are assembled ; neither is it *principally* for the purpose of hearing his instructions, however practical, useful, and necessary they may be. But it is for public or common prayer ;—it is for the purpose of joining together in acts of homage, praise, and supplication to God. “The minister is but the mouth of the congregation, and the mouth should speak the mind of the congregation.” The duty belongs to the assembly in its collective capacity. The audible performance of some parts at least, should therefore be assigned to them, and the remainder should, at least, be fully understood by them before its utterance, that they may be able to give, or (if their peace of minds so require) to refuse, the full assent of their minds. This cannot be the case with extemporaneous, or free prayer, because in both these cases the minister substitutes his own mind for the mind of the people. They know not what he is about to address to the Deity in their name. If their minds are lifted up to God at the close of the sentence they must immediately withdraw them again, and fix them upon their minister, till he has finished another : so at the close of the prayer it is doubtful whether God, or the minister, has been most in their thoughts. But where the same form which the minister is to use is before the people, this cause of distraction is removed ; they can follow him without interruption, while their thoughts are fixed upon God, and the warm feeling of devotion stimulates them to pray with the spirit and with the understanding also.

Of a religion purely spiritual man knows nothing.— He must be interested through the medium of his senses. We have formerly been struck with the truth of this remark when witnessing “the simplicity of congregational worship.” We have observed the many awkward positions, into which a congregation would be thrown upon the summons to prayer. Instead of humbly falling on the knees, and shutting out from the sight every thing which could distract the attention, it rather seemed an object to place the body in a situation of as much ease as a partially erect posture would admit;\* the looks of many indicated inability to fix their minds either upon the object, or the organ of their devotions, or perhaps, a disposition to scrutinize the situation and appearance of others. If the devotion of the minister happened to be greater than usual, restlessness became observable,—now and then a beseeching eye was turned to the pulpit, as if to remind its occupant that his *hearer’s* attention was exhausted. We do not say that these habits are discernable in every congregation of this *sect*, but we certainly have sometimes witnessed them. We think, however, it will not be questioned, that a *considerable* portion of such congregations esteem themselves rather as *hearers* of prayer than as *praying* themselves.†

\* With this view, some of the congregational meeting-houses of New-England have seats made moveable with hinges, so that the body may rest against the sides of the pew.

† “The pious Mr. Bennet, an eminent dissenting minister,” quoted in the non-conformist’s Directory, (p. 47.) says—“There is nothing I apprehend we are more generally defective in, than in performing this part of religious worship. That careless air, which sits upon the face of a congregation, shows how little they

These difficulties do not exist,—certainly not to this extent,—with those who *use* set forms. By them the attention is secured : the posture excludes impediments, and is, of itself, a help to devotion : the prayer book reminds them of their share in the duty before them, and instructs them how to perform it. Thus external circumstances are brought in to aid in exciting devotional feelings ; these, again, have their action on the mind, and impel to greater earnestness in the solemn prayers and praises. “ In regard to the importance of prayer, the ideas of serious church people seem generally the most correct,” says the Non-conformist’s Directory.\*

Neither are we disposed to regard it as a light advantage of forms that they serve as a standard of doctrine. The Reviewer and his party, we know, object to this, as an entrenchment protecting error from the

know of the matter, and how few *seriously* join in public prayer. Some gaze about them, others fall asleep, others fix their eyes on the minister.” The following anecdote, we have recently learnt has been for some time current in Boston. A certain eminent congregational preacher, having, on a certain occasion, greatly exceeded his competitors in this species of pulpit eloquence, was said, by one of his enlightened congregation, to have “ delivered the most delightful prayer ever addressed to a Boston audience !” We have graver authority for this opinion. In the Journal of the Convention which recently sat in Boston, for the alteration of the Constitution of Massachusetts, (with the Chief Justice of the State for its President, and many eminent laymen and clergymen for its members,) as published in the Boston Centinel, we observe, that on Dec. 22, 1820, the Convention met and “ *heard* prayers, by the Rev. Mr. Jenks :” and also that on Jan. 3, 1821, they “ *heard* prayers by the Rev. Mr. Palfrey.”—These gentlemen were its chaplains.

\* Page 56;



assaults of truth, but *we* have not yet subscribed to their definition of *error*, and we certainly shall wait till "the glorious blaze of light" which they suppose to be kindling all around them, shall become less fluctuating, before we deem them *prepared* to answer the question, what is *truth* ? All men are not learned, nor can they be ; many, even in our own happy country, cannot read the Bible when it is placed in their hands, and great is the number of those in all Christian countries who look to the public services of religion for the acquisition of religious knowledge. However disposed, then, the clergy may be, and they certainly are but *men*, to neglect the duty of instruction, to wander into remote and abstract speculations, or to speak in language above the comprehension of the whole or a part of their hearers, still the beacon of the Liturgy bears a steady and uniform light, perceptible to the dimmest vision.

As it regards extemporaneous prayer, the truth seems to be, that, when it was first introduced, it was on the ground of its being a sort of *secondary inspiration*, and on this ground its use is still defended by most of the illiterate sectarians of the present day. The Reviewer is conscious that this notion is indefensible, he therefore bids adieu to the Puritans, and *comes halfway to church*.

It is time, however, to notice his grave charges against the Episcopal book. He first objects that it is a *perpetual form* ; and this he supports by the very grave assertion that our addresses to the throne of grace are dictated by men, all of whom have been in their graves more than an hundred, and some more than a thousand years. We wonder it did not occur to him to object,

also, that the *text book* on which our public discourses are founded, and which dictates our religious principles, is equally *as* ancient if not more so. Our readers may smile, but we should like to have the difference in the arguments pointed out to us, if they can find any. As no small portion of the Liturgy is drawn from the scriptures, and many of the prayers are in their very words, we suppose we may say that the apostles have some claim to be considered among these dictators.—We may possibly go farther, and include our Saviour himself, for we certainly use “fast days, feast days, and saint’s days, the whole year long, and every year,” the very prayer which he instructed his disciples to use. We have, moreover, the Psalms mingled in a variety of ways with our service, which are still older than the Lord’s prayer. We certainly cannot perceive the *weight* of this argument. Of what importance is it that “since *their* time the modes of thinking and expression are considerably changed,” or that “we are able to apprehend the same thoughts in a somewhat different shape and order?” Almost every objection against the church, which is to be found in this appalling Review, is as old as the earlier Puritans, and not one of them, as we believe, can date its first existence as late as the last century, and yet, though they appear here in a “somewhat different shape and order,” we do not see that they are a whit “more interesting,” or in any respect more convincing. But to be serious. Can the reader bring himself to believe, that this objection is produced as of weight against forms of prayer? Can he convince himself that it will be any gratification to the Deity ;—that it will call his attention more forcibly

to our prayers, if we vary their language only, while their essence remains the same? Is there not something, considering from what quarter it comes, of egregious self-exaltation in this? What is it but saying, "true Christianity is a common blessing; all its advantages are laid open to all men, who, nevertheless, ever have been and ever will be much the same; they still have sins to confess, mercies for which to be thankful, and wants to be supplied. To express unitedly, *our* feelings on these points to our Father in Heaven we publickly assemble; but then as the frequent repetition of these things would tire, it is best to allow the clergy to *display their talents* in transposing the thoughts, and varying the language. This will give scope for their abilities and cultivation?"\* *It would only be more unreasonable*, in our opinion, to require each individual of the congregation to perform the duty by turns; if novelty is the only, or chief object, this method would as effectually, and not much more objectionably, produce

\* Bishop Dehon thought differently on this subject. The following eloquent passage is from his Sermon delivered before the General Convention, 1814. "Who would not wish, in the temple, to bear upon his lips those psalms, and prayers, in which the glorious company of the apostles, the goodly fellowship of the prophets, and the noble army of martyrs, have uttered their devotions to God! How dead must he be *to the finest associations, which can affect the mind*, who is not animated to a devout and fervent performance of his part of the service of the sanctuary, by the consideration, that, upon this same censer, which the church holds out to him, incense has been put by hands which are now extended before the throne of the Almighty, and that as the smoke ascended, those eyes were lifted up to Heaven, which are now fixed upon the visible glory of God and the Lamb." We recommend this Sermon to the attentive perusal of our readers.

it. Personal blessings, as we conceive, have, in general, nothing to do with public *congregational* worship; they belong to the *closet*.

Neither do we think, with the Reviewer, that the progress of scriptural knowledge, or, at least, that species of it, which he would commend, is like to produce much change in the sentiments of Episcopalians with regard to the Liturgy. That all the members of the church are not *perfectly satisfied* with regard to every part of her formularies may be true. But this may arise from various causes: it would be natural to look for it in the structure of the human mind, which is acknowledged on all sides to be desultory in its views, (and, in this respect, it is in our opinion not a little in favour of the Liturgy, that the attachment is so strong and general);—it may be occasioned by possessed, or supposed, increase of knowledge; and it is just as likely to be produced by ignorance. There are, it is true, great pretensions to scriptural knowledge in our day, but we are not quite clear that these pretensions have ample foundations, and we are somewhat afraid that their progressive tendency is, to deprive us of all those portions of such knowledge, which are of importance to us as disciples of a crucified Saviour. When the Reviewer asserts, that “the mass of Episcopalians at the present day dissent in many particulars (unimportant, they will say) from the sentiments of *the authors and compilers* of the service book,” he shelters himself behind an entrenchment, so broad and comprehensive, that we know not where to find him. With the sentiments of the authors and compilers of that book, we have no more to do in our prayers and reli-

from the violent hands of Papists and Puritans, in the reign of Elizabeth, by the terror of penal laws, we are not disposed to deny :—It is certain such laws were passed, and, *doubtless*, in some instances executed. We are not able at this time to judge fully of the motives which led to their enactment, but we certainly have no disposition to defend such a policy. Ought we not, however, to have expected a policy somewhat more liberal, when, at a period near a century later, “the best scholars, preachers, and men in the nation,”—that is,—the Puritans had acquired the government, by what means we are not concerned to state? Things seem, however, to have been managed much the same as before.\* The Solemn League and Covenant admitted of

simplicity of its language, have placed the English Liturgy in the very first rank of uninspired compositions.”—*Speech before Leicester Bible Society*. We cannot think even Episcopalians would wish to speak of the Liturgy in stronger terms than these writers.

\* We are sorry that the Reviewer *entirely* overlooked the following counterpart to his extract from Blackstone. “*If any person or persons, shall use, or cause to be used, the book of common prayer, (which, let it be remembered, all the clergy stood bound by their ordination vows to use) every such person so offending, shall for the first offence pay five pounds, for the second ten, and for the third, suffer one whole year’s imprisonment without bail or mainprize.*” May 9, 1644. One would think this sufficient; but it seems it was not found so. “*Every MINISTER who shall not henceforth observe the Directory, according to its true intent and meaning, in all the exercise of the public worship of God, shall for every time he shall so offend, forfeit and pay forty shillings.*” “*Every one who shall bring it into contempt, neglect, or oppose it; who shall preach, write, print, or cause to be published, any thing against the directory, shall for every such offence, pay such a sum of money, as upon trial shall be thought fit, provided it be not under £5, nor above £50*”. August 23, 1645.

no temporising spirit. And it is certainly through no fault of these **GODLY** men, as they styled themselves, that we are now able to utter our prayers in the language of apostles, prophets, and martyrs. But even granting that the Liturgy was upheld by the terror of law in the days of Elizabeth, and even subsequently in England, by what force has it been supported, and so widely spread in our own country that several stereotype presses are in almost constant operation to supply the demand for it? \* The Reviewer appears to think, that, on the point of veneration for the Liturgy, he cannot accuse us too strongly. He says that "even the word of God is by many *not thought fit* to go abroad without the book of common prayer by its side, &c." We, at once, allow that there are societies both in this country and England for the joint distribution of the Bible and prayer book, and it is certainly true that many Episcopalians deem this the best mode of proceeding in reference to both; but that any will go the extent of the Reviewer's assertion we utterly deny. What is the practice of these societies? "In truth,"—says one of their public documents,—“they hold them both with an equal hand, giving both or either, according to the needs and desires of the applicant; if he had not a Bible, they

Now all this was done by Puritans, and to us has very much the appearance of retaliation, an eye for an eye, &c. That these laws were not so severe in their penalties as those of Elizabeth, is owing we believe more to the fact, that their operation would be upon the *mass* of the clergy who were already under counter obligations, which, of themselves, they could not remove, rather than to any lenity in those who passed them.

\* Ten thousand copies were printed in the city of New-York in the year 1817 alone!

gave him one; if he had a Bible the gift was best doubled, by giving him that book which aided him in the practical use of it." But is the Reviewer and his sect so infatuated, that they suppose whatever may be wrong in others is perfectly right in themselves? Even since the publication of this Review, a society has been established at Baltimore, "for distributing the Bible and *other books* giving rational and consistent views of christianity." Does the Reviewer think, we do not regard the Liturgy as both *rational and consistent* in its views of the gospel? Or is it, in any degree, probable, that works so long established, and as generally acceptable as the prayer book, will be found upon the catalogue of the Baltimore society? We do not think him so credulous as this. And when he refers to the opinion of Bishop Marsh, does he not know, that the controversy in England, was not about the value or usefulness of the Liturgy, but about the *expediency* of Churchmen instituting a society for the distribution of the Bible alone, when there already existed a society of extensive labours, and in need of funds, for the purpose of circulating the Bible and practical religious works in general?\*

\* Some of our readers may not be acquainted with the fact, that a Society was instituted at London, by members of the English church, so far back as 1698, "for the promotion of Christian knowledge," and that, since that period, they have distributed an immense number of Bibles, prayer books, and other religious books in Europe, Asia, and America. The amount distributed in one year, as stated in the Report for 1819—follows,—Bibles (exclusive of the Society's Family Bible,) 32,150. New-Testaments and Psalters, 53,905. Common Prayer Books, 91,621. Other bound books, 74,889. Small tracts, half bound, &c. 913,483. Books and papers issued gratuitously, 261,760.

The *second* grave charge of the Reviewer is that "the *English* form of worship," as in the fullness of his *liberality* he calls it,—“is substantially *one* form.” It is so indeed. What then? Why, “come a famine, or a war; be a church in the garment of praise, or in the spirit of heaviness; let a pestilence depopulate a land, or a fire lay a city in ashes; an insurrection threaten a state, or a despaired of victory preserve it, when you would expect to hear one loud burst of praise, or thrilling cry for mercy, the inflexible prayer book claims all its due, &c.” What a pompous, sonorous, piece of declamation! We read it aloud to try its force, and it still rings in our ears. The argument, however, has visited our ears before, and we esteem it a very trifling one. The following extracts will be conclusive with regard to it. “The wants and consequently the matter of the petitions of a Christian congregation, must in the main be always the same; they will at all times have sins to confess; still have need to ask pardon, and implore the divine grace to direct their thoughts, words and actions; it will ever be their duty to pray for all ranks of men, &c. If any general calamity should happen such as *war*,\* *famine*, *pestilence*, proper forms may be provided. In private cases, perhaps, it might be more for the honour of our religion and decency of our worship, that we did not descend to particular circumstances so much as we do. It is needless to describe the diseases to an omniscient God; most cases of this nature might be comprehended under the general names of sickness and distress; but if it be proper to deal with God as with an ordinary doctor, and to lay the case before him at full

\* See note on page 70 above.



length, methods may be found to indulge the humour of the clergy in this respect, without leaving our whole worship to their discretion, and putting all our public petitions in their power.\* We have before remarked that those congregations which do not use set forms are very apt to consider themselves but as hearers of prayer, and when we find the Reviewer sophistically saying, that the same sermon preached thus often would fail to sustain attention, we are almost tempted to think

\* Letter to the elders and ministers of the church of Scotland, by a Blacksmith. We do not see why this "burst of praise, or thrilling cry for mercy," is to be expected from the minister *only*, and yet, be the cause what it may, the people of his congregation, must patiently wait "while he begins at the beginning and reads," or repeats, or invents, "to the end," before their lips may open, and then but for a solitary *amen*. What room is here for the *enthusiasm of the worshipper* to display itself? Surely it is as completely limited as by any form whatever. In the Episcopal service there would be some place, at least, where the fervor of gratitude would find its vent,—the fire would kindle, and they would speak with their tongues. "I think it would be scarcely possible for any want to arise of a private or domestic nature which is not somewhere comprehended in the Litany, and every individual will find the peculiarity of his case so adverted to, that he will be able to give a distinctness, and earnestness, to the petition which embraces his heaviest trials to the Father of mercies and without any one but himself, (which is a great advantage,) being conscious of what is passing in his mind, or having the least idea of the peculiarity of his case." *Jerram's Conversations on Baptism*, (Boston ed. p. 162.) Special prayers are provided in the Liturgy for most cases of necessity; and the 38th Canon provides for forming such prayers, as peculiar and important events, of a general nature, may call for. It may not be amiss to remark here, that among Dr. Priestley's published forms of prayer there is one "for the present state of Christians to be used on Easter Sunday."

that he believes so too ; at least, it shows the *habit* of thinking into which this practice has led him. We have not the least hesitation in saying, that where set forms are not used it is necessary for the preacher to introduce into his prayers as much novelty as he conveniently can, and we have heard it asserted that it is the constant endeavour of some of the most eminent of this class to be as striking as possible in this part of their duty ; not from any belief of its being necessary in the sight of God, nor because it tends to stimulate their own devotion, for this labouring after words and phrases is obviously of a contrary tendency ; but because of the difficulty of exciting a proper devotional temper in the uninterested mass before them. Till this effect is produced, their labours seem in vain, and in the end, perhaps, they discover to the wounding of their pious feelings, that they have had full credit given them for their skill, by those who had forgotten to pray for themselves. That forms may be used without a correspondent devotional feeling at the heart, we do not doubt, and we have as little doubt that this may be the case where *free* prayer is used. The external action of devotion is, of itself, nothing. It should follow the devout feeling as any other effect follows its proper cause. If devout feelings do not exist, we know not how the congregations of the Reviewer's sect, are *possibly* to proceed beyond mere attention ; and if these feelings should not be produced till near the close of the prayer, and then by the *enthusiasm* or eloquence of the preacher, we see not how they are to assent to a prayer, one half of which, perhaps, they neither understood nor heard. Besides, at the moment when the hearer's attention is fully excit-

ed, the ill-timed entrance of some person by whom a door is sent creaking to its close ; a cough, which some feeble individual is unable, or some thoughtless youth unwilling to restrain ; or the careless, bustling movements of the sexton, may interrupt his hearing the beginning, or the conclusion of a sentence, while he is seeking a clue to which, another is so imperfectly heard, that neither are more than half understood. When the Reviewer seeks to illustrate his position, by what most persons experience with regard to the Lord's prayer, does he not see that he is literally arguing against its use in childhood, and that the same remarks apply to the use of the scriptures, or portions of them, in schools ? Will he reject this laudable practice, lest, subsequently we should come to their perusal without claiming for them the recommendation of novelty ?

The next grave charge of the Reviewer is, that " the Liturgy is *faulty in its general plan.*" He dislikes " its separation into parts," and " would think it much better if it were more consolidated." This is, as he says, matter for the judgement of every individual, and every one knows that what may be particularly acceptable to one, would be, perhaps, as fully disagreeable to another. A superficial observer may not indeed see much connection between the parts of the service, but then modesty should teach him, that he, perhaps, does not understand the motives which led to the offensive arrangement. We do not recollect to have heard any objection of this sort from those who are at all accustomed to its use ; on the contrary we have generally found the feature, here objected to, an admired one. " But," says the Reviewer, " if each of the numerous prayers contain what

belongs to a prayer, the repetition must be not a little tiresome ; if not, they are defective in themselves." So that we are, one way or another, decidedly wrong. Without stopping to explore his quibble on the *word* prayer, we remark, that, in our opinion, even a school boy might have ascertained that these prayers are each perfect in themselves, that is, that each contains all, perhaps, that is necessary to say upon the single subject which is its object. If then there is for each subject which is prayed for, a distinct prayer, there ought to be, of course, as many of them as the general necessities of the worshippers require, or if there be some points, and there are many, which do not well admit of this arrangement, they should be combined in some general prayer. None of the prayers of the Liturgy are long, and their separation puts it in the power of the worshippers to give their assent to each particular. By this means their attention is continually attracted to the duty before them, and the mind is more forcibly restrained from wandering, than, probably, would be the case were they all thrown into one. "*The arrangement is not happy,*" says the Reviewer ; "no good reason appears why parts of the service should stand in the appointed order rather than any other." This is a curious argument, and we cannot, without taking our readers through a review of the whole Liturgy, reply to it better than by saying, that there appears no reason for change, since no better disposition of any of its parts is suggested. The latter part of the Litany, of which he particularly complains, is very ancient and was prepared for use in times of persecution. God be thanked, we have no occasion of this kind now, and it is there-

fore in this country, at least, generally disused. The repetitions altogether are not so great, nor the mismanagement so obvious, as is asserted :—The rubrics do not *require* the Lord's prayer to be used *more* than once, except the Lord's supper be administered, or some other extra service be used, when it is required in a single additional instance in each of these services ; in every other instance its use is either discretionary, or merely customary. The Gloria Patri too is *required* to be used but once in the course of the service, though it is *permitted* to be used oftener.\* He complains, too, of

\* Cartwright, the leader of the Puritans in the days of Elizabeth, speaks thus of the Gloria Patri.—“ It was first brought into the church to the end that men thereby should make an open profession in the church of the divinity of the Son of God, against the detestable opinions of Arius and his disciples, wherewith at that time marvellously swarmed almost the whole of Christendom.† Now that it hath pleased the Lord to quench that fire, there is no such cause why these things should be used in the church, or, at the least, why that Gloria Patri should be so often repeated.” To the same effect he remarked upon the use of the cross in baptism, which, from some cause the Reviewer has not noticed. Were he alive in our day, as well as many other of the early Puritans, we think they would admit their policy to have been short-sighted in the extreme. The religion of the *Cross* is not variable ; our church, as we believe, has conveyed to us *the faith once delivered to the saints*, and we have no objection to the tangible signs, and clear expressions, which primitive Christians thought necessary in their day for the distinct expression of their faith. Let the church retain them “ till the consummation of all things.” See Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, b. v. sec. 35, 36.

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† Bishop Bull says it was in use from the earliest times, and that it was recognized by *Justin Martyr* and the *Apostolical Constitutions*. Sermon on forms, &c.

the manner in which the Psalms are used in the service "with all their localities and personalities of meaning." The Psalms are used in the service of the church, as they have been for ages, in their prophetic, evangelical, or spiritual sense, as acts of praise. Many of them have had their application to man's redemption settled, in an express manner, by the inspired writers ; and it is probable, that few, or none of them, are to be restricted to temporal events and occasions. But "it may be asked, are we concerned with the affairs of David and of Israel ? Have we any thing to do with the ark and the temple ? They are no more. Are we to go up to Jerusalem, and to worship on Sion ? They are desolated and trodden under foot by the Turks. Are we to sacrifice young bullocks, according to the law ? The law is abolished never to be observed again. Do we pray for victory over Moab, Edom, and Philistia ; or for deliverance from Babylon ? There are no such nations, no such places in the world. What then do we mean, when, taking such expressions into our own mouths, we utter them, in our own persons, as parts of our devotion before God ? Assuredly we must mean a *spiritual* Jerusalem and Sion ; a *spiritual* ark and temple ; a *spiritual* law ; *spiritual* sacrifices ; and *spiritual* enemies ; all described under the old names, which are still retained, though ' old things are passed away and all things are to become new.' By substituting Messiah for David ; the gospel for the law ; the church Christian, for that of Israel ; and the enemies of the one, for those of the other ; the Psalms are made our own. Nay, they are, with more fullness and propriety, applied now to the substance, than they were of old to ' the shadow

of good things then to come.' And therefore, ever since the commencement of the Christian era, the church hath chosen to celebrate the gospel mysteries in the words of these ancient hymns, rather than to compose, for that purpose, new ones of her own." It may be proper to remark, that there are in the American prayer book selections of Psalms which may be used instead of those appointed for the day, and thus these localities and personalities, if they are to be considered such, are easily obviated. The use of Psalms by course, is thought to have been introduced by Ignatius Bishop of Antioch in the apostolic age.\*

The next *grave* charge is, that "the Episcopal service appears too formal to cherish the spirit of devotion, and too pompous to be a fit religious homage." The first assertion is somewhat indefinite. More or less of form is witnessed among all Christian denominations, and we are not aware of any undue excess of it in the church service. No man of pious feelings, as we think, could esteem it improper, or too formal, to kneel during prayer, and to stand during praise, and all classes of Christians sit during instruction. Neither do we see any very strong tendency to pomp in the service. The reader will seek in vain through the prayer book for any information concerning the clerk, and he will seek equally in vain, through nine in ten, at least, of the Episcopal churches in this country for this officer, except, perhaps, in the same character and situation as the chorister of other denominations. The wardens too, are but *temporal* officers of the church, and are

\* Bishop Horne's Commentary on the Psalms.—*Preface*. See also Hooker, b. v. sec. 37. Socrates Eccles. Hist. L. 3. c. 8.

mentioned but once in the whole prayer book ; and then are merely called upon to collect the alms of the congregation ; a duty assigned, we believe, by the congregationalists, and others, to *their* deacons, who, if we are not mistaken, generally have a prominent seat in the congregation,—while this is so rarely the case with church wardens that we do not recollect ever to have met with more than half a dozen instances.\* Congregationalists formerly objected to both the gown and surplice, but, since they have adopted the identical gown and cassock of the Episcopal clergy, we hear only of the *change* of dress and the use of the surplice. At some future time, doubtless, these objections, will vanish also.† But of these two robes, if we must have but one, *we* decidedly prefer the *surplice*, because it is one of those robes which God himself appointed for the

\* We are of opinion that the original office of church warden has been divided, by the Congregationalists, between their deacons and tythingmen. Some of them, however, retain the *name* of church warden to this day. See Alden's account of the religious societies of Portsmouth, N. H. p. 31. Church wardens in England, if we are not mistaken, and in some parts of this country, as we are assured, were empowered by law to keep the peace about the premises of the church during worship ; hence, probably, arose the use of staves.

† We are inclined to believe that the following account applies to an English Unitarian Chapel. "In passing a place of worship some time since which had the appearance of an Episcopal chapel, I entered, and found the fitting up of the interior, the arrangement of the communion table, with the *clerk* and *reader's desks*, &c. almost precisely the same as I had been accustomed to see in chapels of ease in the establishment. The Reader also was robed in a *surplice* and the *clerk* in a *gown*. Christian Observer, vol. 18, p. 499.



dress of the Jewish priests,—because so long has its use been established in the Christian church, that we cannot tell when it was introduced; and because it is emblematical of the purity, with which we should come before God, in prayer and praise.\* Garments of office may certainly be considered among those things included in the apostle's direction to the church at Corinth, to "let all things be done decently, and in order." If the Reviewer complains that the performances of the church have a theatrical air, we must remind him, that such airs are to be witnessed in places and on occasions we could name; not formally connected with them, it is true, but put on, apparently, for the purpose of *personal display*. In truth, when we consider the barrenness of the ceremonial, allowed by some denominations of professing Christians, we are not surprized that a kind of

\* "Jerome,—says *Wheatley*,—at one and the same time shows its ancient use, and reproves the needless scrupulosity of such as oppose it." *Hooker* also, quotes Chrysostom, as alluding to its use. *Wheatley* says, that in his day, the only clerical garment in general use was the surplice. *Dr. Adam Clarke*, in his commentary on Exodus, chap. xxviii. v. 2. observes, "Should not the garments of all those who minister in sacred things, still be emblematical of the things in which they minister? Should they not be for *glory and beauty*, expressive of the dignity of the gospel ministry, and that beauty of holiness without which none can see the Lord? As the high-priest's vestments under the law, were emblematical of what *was to come*, should not the vestments of the ministers of the gospel bear some resemblance to that which *is come*? The *white surplice* in the service of the church, is almost the only thing that remains of those ancient and becoming vestments which God commanded to be made for glory and beauty. Clothing *emblematic of office*, is of more consequence than is generally imagined." Let it be remembered *Dr. Clarke* is an English *dissenter*.

necessity is discovered to exist, for the exercise of all the little arts which are found to produce attention. Men, as we have before intimated, are swayed through their senses. It is through this medium that learned and unlearned are alike affected. This is evident from the practice of all who are desirous of influencing popular assemblies, and *none* make greater use of it than our opponents. For this reason a sensible worship is necessary, and upon this principle are the services of the church arranged. A form tending to edification and instruction, with a few simple ceremonies, but without offensive parade, is easily reconciled to the feelings of all, even of those who have been accustomed to "the simplicity of congregational worship," if they are not possessed of incurable prejudices on the subject, and are not fully convinced they should be *hearers* of prayer only.\*

\* We will give the statement of Justin Martyr from another source than Neal, of whose impartiality as an historian Bishop Mad-dox and Dr. Gray have given abundant reason to doubt in many respects. Writing to the heathen Emperor, in vindication of the persecuted Christians, he speaks in a *general* way of their mode of worship, thus: "Upon Sunday all those who live in cities, or country towns, or viliages meet together, and the writings of the apostles and prophets are read, as the time will allow. And the reader being ended, the President (Sir Peter King says, the Bishop) delivers a discourse, instructing and exhorting to an imitation of those things which are comely. We then *ALL* rise up, and *pour out prayers*. And as we have related, prayers being ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and the President as above gives thanks *with all his power, and the people signify their approbation by saying amen*. Distribution is then made to *every one that has joined in giving thanks*; and to those who are absent it is sent by the deacons."—*Apology*. In the same work he speaks incidentally

We do not feel ourselves called to defend what may be done, or omitted to be done, in the protestant Cathedral of Canada ; but we should like to be told upon what ground it is that the Reviewer brings forward as *belonging to the Episcopal system*, ceremonies and practices which are no more connected with it necessarily than they are with congregationalism ; and to find authority for which, he will search all the offices of the church in vain. Were it not that the assertion is general and unlimited that “ some of the ceremonies of the church are fantastic beyond all but popish examples,” we would suppose, that it referred only to Canadian practices. As it is, we reply to it in the words of Hooker ;—“ Such speeches are scandalous ; they savour not of God in him that useth them ; and unto virtuously disposed minds they are grievous corrosives. Our case were miserable, if that, wherewith we most endeavour to please God, were in his sight so vile and despicable as men’s disdainful speech would make it.”\* Whatever may have been the character of the *poetry* used at the consecration of the Bishops at Dublin in 1660, we have read with much pleasure the *prose* delivered on that occasion by Bishop Jeremy Taylor ; and if our readers will take the trouble to peruse it they will find proofs of the substantial base on which Episcopacy rests,—too strong to be removed by the compara-

of the *Common Prayers*. Several things are deserving of notice in this extract : the President or Bishop had an assistant,—*the reader*,—the deacons were employed in a duty additional to that which was assigned them at their original institution ; (Acts 6.) the scriptures were *read* in their public worship,—and the people *joined audibly* in it.

\* Book v. sec. 33.

tively pigmy efforts of the Reviewer.\* But we do not recollect ever to have met with a more gross perversion of any writer than is found in this Reviewer's assertion that "the Homily on the time and place of prayer *expressly condemns* chanting and playing on the organ as sorely displeasing to God, and filthily defiling his holy house." Ignorance is the only refuge we can allow him, for he does not appear to have known that, prior to the introduction of the common prayer, the popish service had been wholly chanted, accompanied by the organ ; so that, as in the service of some modern sectaries, the many were entertained with the *skill* of the few ;—there were no prayers ; no actual devotion. The Homily alluded to was set forth in the reign of Elizabeth, at a time when this *abuse* of organs was purged away, but their sober *use* laudably retained. Speaking of "wicked people who pass nothing to resort to church,—for that they see the church altogether scoured of such gay gazing sights, as their gross fantasy was greatly delighted with,—as may appear by this, that a woman said to her neighbour, 'alas, Gossip, what shall we do at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, and singing, chanting, and playing on the organs that we could before ?' But dearly beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice, and give God thanks, that those things which displeased God so sore, and filthily defiled his holy house and place of prayer for the which he hath justly destroyed many nations, according to the saying of St. Paul, '*If any man defile the temple of God, God will him destroy.*' And this we

\* See Jeremy Taylor's Sermons, Boston ed. vol. 3. p. 96.

ought greatly to praise God for, that such superstitions and idolatrous manners as were utterly naught, and defaced God's glory, are utterly abolished, as they most justly deserved : and yet those things that either God was honoured with, or his people edified, are decently retained, and in our churches comely practised."\* Now it is an undoubted fact, that the use of organs as an accompaniment to the singing or chanting of Psalms, was at that time retained in the churches in which this Homily was appointed to be read.

We might pass over his remark that "the feasts and fasts in the observance of which *Christians* find so much satisfaction, were introduced to conciliate pagans," sheltering ourselves under its general application. But we are not willing so to pass his quotation from the amiable Theodoret for the support of an opinion which we believe never entered into the head of the good father. We should judge from the specimens which increase upon us as we advance, that the Reviewer was acquiring a *fondness for the ancient fathers*, at least when he thinks they will serve his purpose. He has quoted Jerome, Justin, Tertullian and now Theodoret ! Yet these writers lived in that period of antiquity, in which he accuses Episcopalians of calling in ignorant and unworthy Ecclesiastics as their allies ! Does this savour much of sound education ; to reject them, with contumely, when they are found too strong for him, and to receive them humbly, when they can be brought to fight on his side ? We must be permitted to doubt it. But this is not the first time that this extract has been brought up with the view of casting a stigma on the church.

\* Homilies, Oxford and New-York ed. p. 294.

It is taken, we believe, from the eighth of Theodoret's twelve discourses, against the false opinions of the heathen, "which he wrote, says Dupin, to satisfy some *objections* which had been made to him. In *this* book he undertakes to defend the honour which Christians gave to the martyrs, shewing by the testimony of their philosophers, poets, and historians, that the Greeks had honoured the memory of eminent men by offering sacrifice to them after their death, and by bestowing on them the qualities of gods, demi-gods, and heroes, although the greatest part of them had been infamous and criminals: and this he does to give them a clearer demonstration, that *the Christians did honour their martyrs far more deservedly.*"\* This seems to us to be very much in the nature of a triumph on the part of Theodoret against some such objector as Mr. Sparks, or the Reviewer.

The next grave charge,—and, if it has any basis, it is a very grave one,—is that "the Episcopal service, authorises a rite *not christian.*" This term seems to have been selected with some care, but it does not sufficiently cover *the intention*. A rite has prevailed, we cannot say precisely how long, among the congregationalists of New-England, called, *owning the covenant*, which is used, we believe, when any person desires to be received into full communion, and which is like, very like indeed, so far as we understand it, to confirmation, saving that the minister does not impose his hands upon the candidate, from an apprehension, *probably*, that it would be *not christian*. Notwithstanding this usage, however,

\* Dupin's Eccles. Hist. Life of Theodoret. *Century fifth.*

we are told that confirmation has *no decent show of scriptural evidence* ; and a text or two of scripture is adduced by the Reviewer as having *no* connection with the subject, which, really, we do not recollect ever to have seen quoted in its favour ; and which, we suspect, is brought forward now, simply because it contained the *word* which modern use has claimed for the *name* of the rite as best expressing its object. We, at least, can discern no other grounds for it. There certainly are, in our opinion, texts of scripture, which, as far as needful for humble faith, speak of confirmation as a rite used by the apostles and beneficial to the church. The sixth chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews opens with the following passage, which, the Reviewer ought to have known, is considered an important testimony to the early and continued use of confirmation.—“ Therefore leaving *the principles of the doctrine of Christ*, let us go on unto perfection ; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God, of the doctrine of baptisms *and of laying on of hands*, and of resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgement.” Now what is the meaning of the expression,—laying on of hands, here ranked among the principles of the doctrine of Christ ? It is obviously something of general interest to Christians, for it is part of a system, of universal application to them. The position of the doctrine is worthy of notice. It is laid down with the others in the precise order of their effect upon the Christian life. Still however, standing, as it does, abstracted from any unequivocal guide to its meaning, we can only learn what we are to understand by it, by referring to other parts of scripture, and thus ascertaining the practice in the

case. And here we are to remember that the apostles addressed their epistles to churches, which, having often perhaps, witnessed their practice in Christian duties, needed not to be minutely informed, as to what they had already seen. Doubtless this was the case in the instance before us. In the eighth chapter of Acts, we read of Philip's going down to Samaria where he preached the gospel, and baptised : when the apostles heard this, "they sent thither Peter and John, who, when they were come down, prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost (for as yet he was fallen upon none of them, only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.) Then laid they their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost." The apostles hear that Philip had made converts in Samaria, and they forthwith send two of their own number to them,—for what purpose? *To lay their hands on them* for their confirmation in the faith, and that they might receive the Holy Ghost. We know that when the gift of the Holy Ghost is mentioned in scripture it implies, *generally*, an extraordinary gift, yet it does not always mean the *same* thing. In the case of the Samaritans we have *no ground* to suppose that their gifts were of an extraordinary class. That it did not give them power to convey to others what they had received is plain from the offer of Simon Magus to buy it with money, and it is equally plain that the apostles did possess this power. Whatever may have been the nature of this gift it was certainly an establishment of their baptism into Christ and an acknowledgement of their being admitted to a participation in the faith. Some years after this Paul arriving at Ephesus, found there certain disciples who



had received John's baptism. He asked them whether they had received the Holy Ghost since they believed? but they had not so much as heard whether there were any Holy Ghost. They were then baptised, after which "*Paul laid his hands on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied.*" Here the gifts are expressly mentioned, but they were attendant, as before, on the laying on of hands; they were not even a consequence of the subjects of them being rebaptised in the presence, if not by the hands of an apostle; and this, we think, sufficiently marks the importance of the rite.\* From the circumstance that these acts are *incidentally* mentioned, and from the importance which seems to be intrinsically attached to them, we suppose we may fairly infer that the *laying on of hands*, was generally, if not universally, practised by the apostles. The Reviewer, with his accustomed confidence, asserts the perfect accuracy of the remark of Mr. Sparks that these instances of laying on of hands *always* imply, either "a communication of extraordinary gifts, or induction to some office." The last is not pretended to attach to either of the instances we have produced, and we allow that in the instance at Ephesus the gifts were certainly extraordinary, but we think that even the Reviewer is not willing to have it supposed that the whole body of believers in Samaria, including Simon Magus, were on the same footing. There is, at least, no authority for it. In the very city, and about the very time, when Paul imposed his hands as above, he tells his Corinthian converts in his first Epistle to them, (chap. xii)

\* In the instance of our Saviour the Holy Ghost descended upon him *at his baptism*. Matthew iii. 16.

that though "the manifestation of the spirit is given to every man to profit withal," yet, "there are diversities of gifts," and "there are different administrations," and "there are diversities of operations." "For to one is given by the spirit *the word of wisdom*; to another *the word of knowledge* by the same spirit; to another *faith* by the same spirit," &c. Of all the gifts mentioned, that which, perhaps, was most general, because most necessary, was a confiding *faith* in the gospel; and by the gifts of the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge, is, doubtless, to be understood the ability to perceive and understand the gospel of Jesus. These gifts were necessary then, and they, doubtless, are so now, but if these are to be called the extraordinary gifts of the spirit, what, we should like to be told, are his ordinary gifts?

We think now, that it is evident, that the imposition of the hands of the apostles in the two instances mentioned in the book of Acts, must have been the same rite which, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, is ranked among the principles of the doctrine of Christ.

We may be told, however, that, admitting such a rite to have been used when extraordinary means were necessary for the promulgation of the gospel, and as evidence of its truth,—when that necessity had ceased to exist, or rather when the *use* of extraordinary means ceased, this rite had, of course, no farther operation. We have shown above, that it is doubtful, at least, whether its original institution was for *extraordinary* purposes only, and we are of opinion that this argument, if admitted, bears equally hard against Christianity in its whole extent.

As the Reviewer has quoted two of the ancient fathers to show the mode of worship prevailing in their day, and another, with a view to the destruction of Episcopacy, we suppose we may be allowed to produce *their* testimony to show, that the practice of the primitive church was in favour of this rite. *Tertullian* says "that after baptism succeeds *laying on of hands*, with prayer, calling for and invoking the Holy Spirit;" and *Jerome*, "as for those who are baptised afar off in the lesser towns by presbyters and deacons, the Bishop travels out to them, to lay hands on them, and to invoke the Holy Spirit." Again: "if you ask where it is written, it is written in the Acts of the Apostles: but if there were no authority in scripture for it, yet the consent of all the world in this particular is instead of a command."\* There can be no room for doubt, then, that the practice was begun by the Apostles, and continued by their successors.

Confirmation, in its modern use, is the solemn laying of the hands of the Bishop upon such as have been

\* Whoever wishes to see the numerous testimonies of the best and most ancient writers on this subject, may find great collections of them made by Dr. Jackson, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Comber; and other divines of our own church. Many foreign divines, since the Reformation, have judiciously cleared it, as Calvin, Chemnitius, Paræus, Rivetus, Casaubon, and others. And it has also been asserted, and recommended by some considerable English writers, who have not in all things agreed with us in the matter of church government, as we see in *Hanmer's Exercitation*, and *Baxter's Treatise* on the subject, in which they greatly lament the disuse of it as a thing of pernicious consequence to the Christian religion." —*Pastoral Advice*. See also *Owen's Commentary on the Hebrews*, c. vi. v. 3.

baptised and are come to years of discretion. It is, as we have before said, a confirmation on his part of their admission to church membership, and on theirs, the confirmation, or assumption of the vows of baptism. It is not pretended that the Bishops have the power of conveying the Holy Ghost ; and yet we humbly trust that the proper use of this ordinance will make it subservient to the spiritual edification and advancement of those who receive it.

The Reviewer next objects to some expressions in the form of administration, which we can pardon him for misunderstanding, since others, with better motives, have done so before him. We conceive we shall best explain them in the language of Archbishop Secker. “The commemoration sets forth that *God hath regenerated his servants by water and the Holy Ghost*, that is, entitled them by baptism to the enlivening influences of the Spirit, and so, as it were, begotten them again into a state inexpressibly happier than their natural one ; a covenant state, in which God will consider them while they keep their engagements with peculiar love as his dear children. It follows that he hath *given them forgiveness of all their sins*, meaning, that he hath given them assurance of it upon the gracious terms of the gospel. But that every one of them hath actually received it by complying with those terms since he sinned last, though we may charitably hope, we cannot presume to affirm ; nor were these words intended to affirm it, as the known doctrine of the church of England fully proves. And therefore, let no one misunderstand this expression, which hath parallel ones in the

New-Testament,\* so as either to censure it, or to delude himself with a fatal imagination that any thing said over him can possibly convey to him a pardon of sins for which he is not truly penitent. We only acknowledge with due thankfulness that God hath done his part, but which of the congregation have done theirs, their own consciences must determine.”† The remark of the Reviewer concerning the slender preparation necessary to the participation in this rite, we have before shown to be unfounded. The candidates for confirmation are required to understand the nature of the baptismal vow, which they then assume, and for this purpose are, *at the least*, to be sufficiently instructed in it, and the very nature of the institution supposes them capable of making a prudent and firm resolution for observing it.

The next charge of the Reviewer, and one which we take to be the strong hold of *some few* of the Sons of the Puritans is, that *the Liturgy involves false doctrine*; meaning that he and his party so esteem it. He would have us, it seems, strike from the Liturgy every expression which savours of doctrine, lest, unhappily, we should be found so ungracious, as “to try one who comes to put himself on our Christian hospitality by a doctrinal *shüboleth*.” It is nothing to the purpose, for instance, that we, Trinitarians, deem it our duty to pray to Jesus Christ, as our God and Saviour, and that *Arians* deem it their duty to ascribe “blessing and honour, and glory and power to him that sitteth on the Throne, and to the Lamb forever and ever.” These conceptions of duty on our part are to be set aside by

\* Ephes. i. 7. Col. i. 14.

† Sermon on Confirmation.

us, because Unitarians say, that, considering Jesus Christ as a man, it is contrary to their duty to offer him any sort of homage. There seem to be then three distinct opinions upon this subject, and it is no greater offence against *liberality* for us to adhere to our opinion than for the Unitarian or the Arian to adhere to his. It is to no purpose that the Unitarian tells us his method would comprise *all*; it would not do so without the tacit abandonment of duty in the others. Besides the Deist might, with as great propriety, make use of the same argument.

There can be no doubt, we think, that every religious community have a perfect right to preserve in their worship, or in any other reasonable way, such fundamental doctrines as they believe may be fairly drawn from the scriptures. To this, *we* think, none but the capricious, and the uncharitable, can object. And, we further think, that those who do object to it, after having placed themselves at an irreconcilable distance, are justly liable to the charge of making a gross attack on Christian liberty.

But let us examine this subject a little closer. "The doors of our sanctuaries are open,—to use the language of the late Mr. Buckminster,—to the infidel as well as to the believer, to the Jew and to the Pagan, to the Mahometan from the shores of the Mediterranean and to the savage from the banks of the Missouri." Surely, the Reviewer would not extend his comprehensive scheme so far as to include all these classes, and yet why should he not? The distinguishing points between his creed and some of theirs, may not be greater or more insuperable than those between Episcopalians

and Unitarians. Pope has a prayer of this comprehensive cast ready prepared to our hands.

Father of all ! in every age,  
*In every clime adored,*  
 By saint, by *savage*, or by sage,  
 Jehovah, *Jove*, or Lord, &c.

But we will give the Reviewer the credit of our belief, that he would stop much short of this point. He wishes, we will suppose, such prayer as will contain nothing offensive to believers in the gospel. Admitting the principle, would he be able to prepare, extemporaneously, *as his thoughts roll on*, a prayer so critically correct as to leave no room for objections on this score ? If so, he must have a mind unusually well disciplined, and remarkably free from the recollection of his private studies. But the *principle* is a fallacious one. We have produced an instance or two above. We will now adduce another. There is a sect of Christians called Friends, who, quiet and unobtrusive, make but few claims to the notice of society at large ; who, whatever may be the errors of their system, are not justly chargeable with that fundamental one of “denying the Lord that bought them ;” and who openly worship God after their own manner. And yet we believe that the Reviewer would find not a little difficulty in accommodating his very accommodating plan to their principles, even in such a degree only as to make them willing to be hearers of his prayers. On the other hand, we do not suppose, that he would be willing to modify his own scheme so far as to adopt their method. We should suppose that it required only plain common sense to perceive that it is literally impracticable in the

present state of the Christian world to adopt such a method of worship as should be perfectly unexceptionable to all who call themselves Christians. The scheme is perfectly Utopian; it seems however to answer very well to ring the changes of *liberality* upon. After all, there is perhaps no system in which persons of various shades of belief could meet to so much advantage as in the Episcopal church; her doctrines are substantially the doctrines of the far greater portion of Christendom; and the worshipper may select before hand the prayers to which his mind does not assent, thus precluding embarrassment. We, for our own part, admire the wisdom which wrought THE DOCTRINES OF THE CROSS into the service of her altars, "like raiment of needle work," and we bless God that he has preserved to us, our Liturgy, when, like the ark, it was surrounded by Philistine hosts; and in other, and later times, when Uzzahs would stretch forth their feeble hands to better its condition.

1. The first instance of *false doctrine* is, that the Trinity is supposed in several places in the Liturgy.\*

\* With regard to the truth or falsity of this doctrine let us notice the opinion of a Jew; of course an unbiassed witness. Mr. *Levi*, in his published correspondence with Dr. Priestley, quoted in Adam's Religious World displayed (vol. ii. p. 204) says, that "the divinity of Christ,—his pre-existence and power to abrogate the ceremonial part of the law; as also the miraculous conception are all taught in the gospels; and the ceremony just mentioned [baptism] points out the essential qualification of a Christian: consequently he that does not believe the doctrine of the Trinity, cannot be a Christian, if the Gospels be true."—Letters to Dr. Priestley, 1789, p. 24. To the same effect is the opinion of a learned *Deist* as given by Bishop Burnet [History of his own Times, vol.



Doubtless: it is not only supposed, but is plainly asserted, in more than one place. The Liturgy too requires worship to be addressed to our Saviour, "*the Lamb of God* who taketh away the sins of the world." In these respects the Episcopal church throughout the world is not alone. Almost universally, wherever the name of Christ is known, *prayer is made ever unto him, and daily is he praised*. Even *Trinitarians* are not singular in this last respect. The "most judicious" *Arians* in former, and later times, if not their entire body, have deemed themselves required by the scriptures to *worship Christ*.\* These points are common to almost all

ii. p. 212.] "When in 1698, one Firmin undertook to distribute tracts against the doctrine of the Trinity (which, Smollet says, abounded at this time, and took their rise from the licentiousness and profligacy of the times) many undertook to write in this controversy, some of whom were not fitted for handling so nice a subject. A *learned Deist* made a severe remark on the progress of this dispute ;—He said he was sure the divines would be too hard for the Socinians in proving their doctrines out of scripture ; but if the doctrine could once be laughed at, and rejected as *ABSURD*, then its being proved how well soever out of scripture, would turn to be an argument against the scriptures themselves, as containing such incredible doctrines." Our opponents we believe have reached his premises, and, unwittingly, we doubt not, are rapidly travelling to his conclusions.

\* Whiston, Samuel Clarke, Emllyn, Chandler, Benson, Pierce, Grove, and in short all the most eminent *Arians* have been worshippers of Christ. Carpenter compiled in 1793, a Liturgy for the use of his congregation. In the advertisement prefixed he says, "I think it right, in our public worship to pray to the Father only in the name of Christ. But as praise is certainly ascribed to him in the scriptures, and as love to Christ is made an essential branch of his religion, I cannot but think we are justified in addressing him with hymns of praise and thanksgiving." In the

classes of Christians, and as we have limited ourselves in these strictures to *Episcopal peculiarities*, we think it unnecessary to enlarge on these topics here.

2. If the popish error of the real presence is not discountenanced in the *parts of sentences* which he has so disingenuously quoted, yet he has not the hardihood to allege that this error is any where supported, or admitted by the church; on the contrary he must know full well, that it was one of the principal points, on which the reformers laid such stress, as obnoxious to divine truth, and that the Episcopal church has ever been distinguished for the strength of her opposition to this very error. Did he feel no hesitation in endeavouring by such indirect methods to fix upon the church the odium of retaining a long exploded superstition? Will his principles permit him to feel no uneasiness under the knowledge that these unchristian statements might reach, and perhaps satisfy many who would have little knowledge of the church but from his remarks; and who

Litany; (which is formed on the basis of the Episcopal) although he strikes out the petition to the Trinity, yet he retains the others in the form of prayer to the Father, viz:—"through the intercession of thy well-beloved Son, our Redeemer, have mercy upon us," &c. "by the direction and assistance of thy Holy Spirit, have mercy upon us," &c. Lindsey had previously (in 1774) adopted the prayer book of the English church altered on the plan of Dr. Clarke. The petitions of the Litany resemble those in Carpenter's—the second petition is, "O God, who by the precious blood of thy only begotten Son, hast purchased to thyself an holy church, and placed it under thy continual protection, have mercy upon us." The third is, "O God, who by thy Holy Spirit, dost govern, direct, and sanctify, the hearts of all thy faithful servants, have mercy upon us." This last, if we are not mistaken, is the Liturgy used at King's Chapel, Boston.

would probably never hear of any denial of their truth, even should it be publicly made ?

Will our readers believe that the extract which he first quotes is from a prayer in which the following passage previously occurs, and of which his quotation is but the same sentiment prolonged ? “ Vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with thy word and Holy Spirit, these *thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine*, that we, receiving them according to our Saviour Jesus Christ’s holy institution, *in remembrance of his death and passion*, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood.” The other extracts which he has adduced stand thus connected in the Communion office : “ The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life : *take and eat this in REMEMBRANCE that Christ died for thee and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.*” “ The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life, *drink this in REMEMBRANCE that Christ’s blood was shed for thee and be thankful.*”\* It did not suit the Review-

\* We know not how language more expressive and better adapted could be used. “ This perfectly secures us,—says Archdeacon Daubeney,—from the gross corruptions of the church of Rome ; because the *commemoration* of a fact cannot be the *fact itself* ; the representation cannot be the thing designed to be represented ; the sign cannot be the reality which it is meant to signify.” *Guide to the Church.—Appendix*, vol. ii. p. 414. It is not improbable that Edward VI. may have written in the style which the Reviewer quotes, though we should like some better authority for it, than that which he adduces ; and we should like also to have seen how the same Edward *would have written* to protestant dissenters, had they been known to him ; we might then perhaps

er's purpose to exhibit them in this connection, nor to refer his readers to the article of the church on the subject. That article (the twenty-eighth) has these words : "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, *only after a heavenly, spiritual manner*. And the mean, whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is *faith*." "The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood," says Hooker, "is not to be sought in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver."

3. We are charged with holding that baptism is a saving ordinance,—that is to say, the Liturgy inculcates the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. It is impossible for us to go at large into the evidence on this point; our limits forbid it, and we can only give a very brief explanation. "When the churchman,"—says Bishop Hobart, in his third charge to his clergy,—"*in the language of scripture, of primitive antiquity, and of the articles and liturgy of his church, calls baptism, regeneration, he does not employ the term in its popular signification among many protestants to denote the divine influences upon the soul in its sanctification, and renovation; in abolishing the body of sin, and raising up the graces and virtues of the new man. The term regeneration is used by him in its original appropriate and technical acceptation, to denote the translation of the baptised*

have been able to discover how much to allow for a *time-serving* disposition. While we are on the subject of popery, we will venture to ask whether *sitting* at the communion may not be termed *popish*, since (according to Wheatley) the *great Pope* always receives in that posture! The practice is not derived from our Saviour; for in his time the table posture was not sitting, but *reclining*.

person from that state, in which, as destitute of any covenant title to salvation, he is styled the child of wrath, into that state, which, as it proffers to him in all cases, the covenanted mercy and grace of God, and in the exercise of repentance and faith actually conveys to him these blessings, is styled "*a state of salvation*."\* "Whatever some few persons, or some petty sects,"—says Dr. Barrow,—“may have deemed, it hath been the doctrine constantly, and with very general consent, delivered in the Catholic church, that to all persons, by the holy mystery of baptism duly initiated to Christianity, or admitted into the communion of Christ’s body, the grace of God’s Holy Spirit certainly is bestowed, enabling them to perform the conditions then undertaken by them.”† Hooker calls “baptism the door of

\* See John iii. 3–5. Titus iii. 5. “Whoever,” says Justin Martyr, “are persuaded and believe that the things said by us are true, and undertake to live agreeably to them, are led by us to a place where there is water, and are *regenerated* in the same manner that we were regenerated, for they are baptized in the name of God the Father and Lord of all, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. For Christ said “if ye are not regenerated ye cannot enter the kingdom of Heaven.” *Quoted by Bp. Mant.—Tracts of the Eng. Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*, vol. vi. “He came,” says Irenæus, speaking of Christ, “to save all persons by himself; all, I say, who are *regenerated* by him unto God, infants, and little ones, and children, and young men, and old men.” Again: “The ordinary way of being freed from *original sin*,—he says,—is baptism, which is our *regeneration* unto God.” *Quoted in Bp. Bagot’s Serious Caution against the Anabaptists*. The truth concerning this term seems to be, that it is borrowed from the Jewish practice. See *Wall’s Hist. Infant Baptism. Introduction*, section vi.

† Sermon xlv. quoted in *Quarterly Review* vol. xv. p. 491— which see, and also Barrow on the Creed, London ed. 1697, p. 443.

God's house ;" in making use of it for the admission of men, the church requires faith, repentance and the promise of future and unreserved obedience as the conditions upon which she receives them.\* That principle which leads us to ascribe every thing in us which is good to God leads us also to ascribe to his Holy Spirit every thing which has a tendency to draw us to himself. We neither repent nor believe sincerely, but by the influence of the Holy Spirit.† Where these requisites are apparent, baptism is *rightly* administered, and the promises of the new covenant being in that baptism sealed to him, the person baptised may justly be said to be regenerated, or born anew.‡ But it may be said, that many persons are baptised and of course declared regenerate, whose profession of faith and repentance is utterly insincere—a mere mockery. We know this *may* be the case, for the scriptures testify that Philip, Peter and John were successively imposed on by Simon Magus,—and where it is so, we can only say with those apostles, such persons *have neither part nor lot in this matter*. Doubtless they are in the same situation with those contemplated in the twenty-ninth article ; “the wicked and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ, but rather to their condemnation do eat and drink the sign or sacrament of so great a thing.” Still however, as it is impossible for us to know the sincerity of the applicant, and as it is an

\* See Romans v. 12. Eph. ii. 3. Acts ii. 37–38—and viii. 36.

† I. Cor. xii. 3. Acts xi. 18.

‡ John iii. 5. II. Cor. i. 21. Col. ii. 12.

act in which he, as far as his own professions go, gives himself up to God's own government, we must leave it to him, who is head over the church, to decide; and conscious that we have done our part, according to our best conceptions of the duty he has assigned us, we may, with the utmost sincerity, thank "God that it hath pleased him to regenerate his servant;" for, as well as we can judge such is the fact. The same remark applies to the baptism of infants; born of parents who are within the covenant, they are baptised on the faith of their parents, who, with others, are sureties to the church for their instruction in the faith. As in circumcision, what they are incapable of, is not required of them.\*

4. "Bishops are able to communicate the Holy Spirit, and confer the power of forgiving sins." In the sense in which the Reviewer wishes to be understood we can with great safety deny the charge, and assert that the church assumes no such power. The form in ordination of priests, which he quotes, and which is

\* See Barrow on the Creed p. 442. In a note the Reviewer says, that "Dr. Wyatt calls the baptismal font the *laver of regeneration*." Is he ignorant that many *very learned*, and able divines have done the same? For instance Cranmer, Andrews, Burnet, Barrow and others. The Reviewer, when he quoted the 27th article of the church, might have mentioned, we think, for the *information* of his readers, that the same doctrine is to be found substantially in the standards of Protestants generally throughout Europe; and that the very language of the article is infused into the Cambridge and Saybrook platforms. He sneers at the article, indeed, but he does not inform us on what grounds *he believes* its doctrines to be false. Mr. Dodwell's opinion, if such as the Reviewer quotes, and we have no reason to believe it is not, is a *singular* one, but we do not see what the church has to do with it.

not the form at present used, is taken from St. John's account of the manner in which our Saviour commissioned his Apostles. It is not pretended by any, so far as we are informed, that, when our Saviour uttered these words, and breathed on the Apostles, any more was meant by him than to convey the power of the ministerial office. It is certain, that this event occurred some time before the miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles, and there is no ground on which to assume that they were before that descent favoured with any portion of his special influences. "The Holy Ghost may be used," says Hooker,\* "to signify not the person alone, but the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and we know that spiritual gifts are not only abilities to do things miraculous, as to speak with tongues which were never taught us; to cure diseases without art, and such like; but also, that *the very authority and power which is given unto men in the church to be ministers of holy things*, this is contained among the number of those gifts of which the Holy Ghost is author, and therefore he which gives this power, may say, without absurdity or folly, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, such power as Christ hath endued his Church withal, such power as neither prince, nor potentate, king, nor Cæsar on earth can give. So that if man alone had devised this form of speech thereby to express the Heavenly wellspring of that power which Ecclesiastical ordinations doth bestow, it is not so foolish but that wise men might bear with it." Upon Unitarian principles we should suppose the objection might be extended higher, for on the presumption that our Saviour was a *fallible and peccable man*,

\* Eccles. Pol. L. v. s. 77.



this language would seem improper to fall from his lips also. Probably our opponents have a solution ready for this difficulty. We know of none. We cannot here bring into discussion what has been technically called "the power of the keys;"\* and can only say, that it is obvious our Saviour intended by the words "whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained"—to convey to the Apostles the power, simply, of exercising discipline in the churches which they were to establish. They, and by consequence their successors, were to admit men to the church, to administer the laws which he had laid down for its government, and to exclude notorious offenders from its privileges. The power to perform these duties resting with the church, it is conveyed in ordination, and it was thought best to adopt the words of our Saviour, so far, at least, as to allow them a place in the ordination office, as expressive of the original object of the ministry. No power to forgive sins, in the common acceptation of the term, is claimed by our church, as the declaration of absolution in the morning and evening services will readily convince any one.† The form *actually used* in or-

\* See Barrow on the Creed, p. 278. Bishop White's Lectures on the Catechism, p. 43. ♥

† "Declaration of absolution, or remission of sins to be pronounced by the Priest alone. Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live; hath given power and commandment to his ministers, to declare and pronounce to his people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins. He pardoneth and absolveth all those, who truly repent and unfeignedly believe his holy gospel. Wherefore, let

daining priests is, as follows ; “ Take thou authority to execute the office of a priest in the church of God now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands, and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and his holy sacraments. In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.” If then it were admitted that the Bishops claim the power of conveying the Holy Ghost and forgiving sins, in their common acceptation, yet it is certain they do not attempt to exercise any such authority.

These four instances of *false* doctrine the Reviewer gives, as “ samples of the service book,” and we suppose he would have his readers infer, that they are *but samples* of a thoroughly infected mass. He has indeed traversed the prayer book much in the same manner as a certain deistical writer once traversed the Bible ; and as in his case too, the hasty conclusions of a distempered judgement are given to the world for indubitable facts ;—the rash constructions of a heated adversary are exhibited as unquestionable truths ; and he who would be *impartial* is required to believe that this imputed deformity is radical in the very nature of the thing. We know not, and we are unwilling to believe, that Unitarianism has any advocates within the church ; and we most devoutly wish that all the efforts of the Reviewer may be realised in keeping from her *ministry*

us beseech him, to grant us true repentance and his Holy Spirit ; that those things may please him which we do at this present, and that the rest of our life hereafter may be pure and holy ; so that, at the last, we may come to his eternal joy, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.”

every man infected with it. We, like himself, can have no sympathy with such

—"Sycophants who kneel,  
Christ's name adoring, and then preach him man."

It is a system which has no attractions for us ; we see nothing in it to console us under affliction, or to smooth for us the bed of death. Knowing our native helplessness we feel the value of *real* Christianity,—we see our need of one "mighty to save." We are not perhaps prepared with Bishop Warburton to speak of Unitarianism as "infidelity in disguise ;" nor with Mr. Wilberforce to consider it "a sort of half-way house from nominal orthodoxy to absolute infidelity ;" yet it seems to us, as to Mrs. Barbauld, to be at least "*Christianity in the frigid zone.*"\*

We come now to the *very grave* objection that "the book of Common Prayer contains improprieties of language ;" and this is the more important because security from this objection is the "*single advantage*" of forms of prayer! This charge however, is not produced by the Reviewer's own observation, but is based on the authority of the Protestant Dissenter's Catechism. We are permitted to understand that the *extract* refers to the English *copy* of the prayer book, and that in the American some *few* of the obnoxious passages are corrected.

With the Dissenter's Catechism we are not conversant, nor indeed do we much desire to be. We hope we mistake its object, but if it be, like that of the church, "an instruction to be learned by every person" before they be admitted to "*a participation in Christian*

\* See R. Adam's Religious world, vol. ii. p. 176.

ordinances" with protestant dissenters, it can have no very powerful tendency to produce "*a good life and conversation* ;" and it seems to us, a method as strange as any imaginable, *of guarding against scandal*.\*

We have first a list of "uncouth and obsolete words and phrases." Without stopping to enquire upon what principle a word is to be termed *obsolete* while it is found in a standard book, of very extensive use, and admitted as authority by the best lexicographers, we remark that of the *thirteen* instances produced under this head, but *four* are to be found in the American prayer book, and on referring to Johnson we find that *two* at least of these are used by some of the best standard writers in our language. It is probable that his quotations from the Psalms are correct ; some of them we know to be so. We do not however think, that any of these expressions are so uncouth, as to cause any difficulty in understanding them, though some of them, might probably be altered to advantage. This translation of the Psalms was made chiefly from the *Greek* of the Septuagint, and from this cause may not possess in

\* The British Critic, in a Review of the charge of Archdeacon Thomas to the clergy of Bath, 1819, referring to the obnoxious manner in which the principles of dissent are inculcated in England, says, "for full proof of this offensive mode of proceeding on the part of the dissenters, *we need only refer to their Catechism* ; which, instead of teaching the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, as might be expected from its title, is wholly designed to instruct, and establish young persons in the principles of non-conformity, *by a regular attack* upon the frame and constitution, the orders, the liturgy, the ceremonies, the articles, and the discipline of our church." Truly, the Reviewer must have an ample source to draw from.

all respects a literal conformity to the Hebrew, yet we are not aware of the existence of any "gross mis-translations." It was very properly retained in the American prayer book, as excellent in itself, and familiarised by custom. As to *redundancies* in the service, the Reviewer should have remembered that every repetition does not deserve to be thus classed, or if he thinks otherwise, still we shall not willingly concede our opinion to him, in regard to some, at least, of the instances he adduces. "It is true neither in philosophy nor fact," says a writer, "that devotion abhors repetition." Of the *three* instances of *want of connection* which he produces, *one* only is to be found in the American prayer book, and that one is not fairly stated.\*

The next class of passages to which he objects, he calls *absurd* or *unintelligible*. The stumbling block in this case appears to be, not so much in the language as in the doctrines of the incarnation, and of the Trinity, which it conveys. Has it ever occurred to the Reviewer, or his party, to bring this same objection to the form of words directed by our Saviour to be used in baptism? Abundant pains have been taken to destroy its Trinitarian sense. But if in this sense it is absurd or unintelligible, we have never seen a Unitarian explanation of

\* We give the entire Collect referred to. "A Collect for Peace, [spiritual and temporal.] O God, who art the author of *peace* and lover of *concord*, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom; defend us thy humble servants *in all assaults of our enemies*, that we, surely trusting in thy defence, *may not fear* the power of any adversaries, through the might of Jesus Christ, our Lord." If there is a want of connection here, it is certainly not in the words referred to by the Reviewer.

it, which was not infinitely more so. The shortest way, perhaps, would be to class it with these extracts from the prayer book, and thus get rid of all of them at once.\*

“From this specimen of faults in the Liturgy” the Reviewer would have us give up our boast of its excellence. Perhaps, it will be time enough to do so, when the learned and able men, those of them at least, who are living, retract their opinions as already given by us.† We do not believe, however, nor are we acquainted with any who do, in the absolute perfection of our Liturgy. It is a human composition, and therefore not free from the faults which must ever attend upon the labours of men. In the language of the editors of the Christian Observer, we may say that “we would not be thought in our struggle for the honour of our Liturgy to be the champions of every expression contained in it. We are its admirers, not its idolators; and therefore not in love with its blemishes. There are a few parts, which would, perhaps, admit of the knife; but

\* “In one of the prayers in the communion service,” says the Reviewer, “God is styled Holy Father. But the rubric orders that on Trinity Sunday this title shall be omitted;” and he draws an inference from this, which only serves to expose his ignorance, for, if he really had read the book, he would have seen that the same page explained what he chooses to consider as done without adequate motive. The true reason why this term is to be omitted on Trinity Sunday is, because it *verbally* disagrees with the language of the proper preface, for the day, as it is called; but if another preface, also provided for that day, is used, then the term Holy Father is to be retained, because there is then no disagreement of that nature.

† See note p. 83.

then we do not see into whose hand it could safely be trusted. We are content, however, to take it as it is, and are rather disposed to wonder it is so good, than to complain it is no better. Every day's experience shews us, it is perfectly competent under the divine blessing to produce, and what is perhaps more, to revive a spiritual religion."

As the Reviewer admits that our church is not distinguished, though *he* would have her considered dishonoured, in declaring that she has authority in matters of faith; we do not deem ourselves called upon to defend her in this respect. It is a principle to be found, we believe, more or less plainly expressed in the formularies of all denominations out of the *frigid zone*. And even there it is virtually assumed, as is evident from the agreement in *denouncing* Trinitarianism, Calvinism, &c. Mr. Sparks's "strain of good sense and eloquence," quoted by the Reviewer, seems to us, to be destitute at the least, of the first, if not of both, these attributed qualities. Is there not, for instance, something superlatively ridiculous in comparing Theology to Astronomy, when the principles of the former were permanently settled by its author eighteen hundred years ago; while of the latter, we know nothing except by the actual discovery and demonstration of principles, heretofore, and till recently, utterly unknown, and perhaps not even yet fully and permanently settled? We should have thought a mind regulated by good sense and a sound education, would have scorned to employ such a burlesque upon reasoning. But admitting, for a moment, that there is any thing like sufficiency in such arguments, who or where is the Bacon, or the Coperni-

cus, or the Newton, who is to stand forth, and show us ground upon which we may set our feet, and from which we may see that we dwell not in an immeasurable void, or in a pathless chaos? Shall we take Mr. Sparks, or Mr. Belsham, or the Reviewer? We doubt, not a little, whether either of these gentlemen have yet found a substantial base for their own feet, notwithstanding their anxiety to spring a mine beneath ours.\* Why then should we look to either of them for support, when we have only their assertion that our present footing is unsafe? We are of opinion with Bishop Pearson—"that there is no concerning truth in Christianity which is not old, and that whatsoever about it can be proved to be new, is for that reason alone decidedly false." We hold that creeds are valuable, not as standards independent of scripture, but as summaries collected out of it. This we conceive to be the case with the formularies of the church, and with this belief of their origin, we shall not be prevailed on by pompous diction, or bold assertion, to abandon them: certainly not till those who would dissuade us from them, know themselves what to believe.†

\* "Mr. Belsham, in the introduction to his Letters on Arianism, &c. remarks, that having begun to think, he knows not where to stop, as he still professes to seek after knowledge, and is very far from flattering himself that he *approaches* the confines of discoverable truth." R. Adam's Relig. world, vol. ii. p. 174. Dr. Priestley and others have remarked to the same purport.

† Mr. Sparks's remark about the infallibility of the church, seems to us, to be nearly, if not equally, as applicable to individuals. We are told in the scriptures that we are *saved by faith* and that *he that believeth not shall be damned; unless every individual be infallible, then, there can be no certainty of his having the only true faith, and he may even spare himself the trouble of claiming the right to have his own particular creed.*



That Milton was an admirable *poet* it would be treason against learning and literature to deny ; he was nevertheless but a miserable divine, and a most uncharitable man. We ask the reader to peruse the following invective against the Bishops of the English church, in connection with the Reviewer's quotation from his "prose works," concerning creeds, and he will see some grounds for this opinion : "But they, that by the impairing and diminution of the *true faith*, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life, (WHICH GOD GRANT THEM !) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulph of hell ; where, under the spiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, who in the anguish of their torture, shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight forever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and down-trodden vassals of perdition."\* Is

\* Treatise on Reformation, vol. i. p. 274. Quoted by Jones on the church, note to chap. iii. In continuation of the extracts made by the Reviewer from Mr. Sparks's Letters, we find the following *parody*, as we call it, on a text or two of scripture. "St. Paul enjoins the Galatians to 'stand fast in the liberty—wherewith Christ had made them free, and not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage ;' and to the Corinthians he writes,—'We have not dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy, for by faith ye stand.' Not by faith in Creeds, for this would be giving up our liberty, taking upon us a yoke of bondage, and submitting to the opinions of others ; but by faith in the word of God, which all persons are free to consult,—and this freedom all must be allowed to enjoy before they can be required to believe or obey." Did not Mr. S. very well know, that in the text from the

it not enough to make the blood run cold in our veins to read such denunciations as these? Is it to be wondered at, if men of such temper as this extract displays, should be the enemies, not of creeds alone, but of every species of human obligation? With what feelings then, must we be inspired when we see such a writer cited,

epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul was alluding to the attempt made among that people by Judaizing teachers to reduce them under the dominion of the Mosaic law—"to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which" the Jews themselves had not been "able to bear?" Suppose we were to make a similar accommodating use of another text in the same epistle, and say to our readers, "there be some that trouble you and would pervert the gospel of Christ; but though we, or an angel from Heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." We suspect Mr. Sparks would think the application far fetched and somewhat unreasonable. With regard to that other text, we suppose St. Paul's meaning to be, that he had not power to *change* the faith which he had preached to them, and in which they were now established, and that, though he was coming among them to revive neglected discipline in respect to their *practice*, yet as respected their *faith*, he was rather disposed to rejoice with them, for in that they had remained steadfast. Mr. Belsham asserts, that the doctrines of *necessity* and *materialism* [though admitted according to Adam, by the most distinguished Unitarians,] have no more to do with their peculiar creed, "than they have with the mountains in the moon." As little, we conceive, have the texts quoted by Mr. S. to do with *creeds* of any sort. We think the strain of Mr. Sparks's reasoning, generally, as here quoted by the Reviewer, of a *deistical* tendency; for it proceeds upon the supposition, that the fundamental principles of Christianity have not been revealed to us, but are to be sought out, in the same manner, as the fundamental principles of Astronomy have been discovered. It is the course of an advocate for the religion of nature, a system *frigid* indeed.

as the solemn advocate of Christian liberty in this *enlightened* age?

The Reviewer asserts that the earliest reformers have not to answer for this obnoxious clause. There is reason, he thinks, to believe that it was *surreptitiously inserted* after their time; and yet however this *surreptitious* insertion formed no objection to its adoption on the restoration of the church in 1660! We have not, unfortunately, either Prettyman or Neal at hand to consult, but we have read the Reviewer's statement with some surprise. Adam says, on the authority of Broughton, that the *authenticated original* of the Thirty-nine Articles was destroyed in the fire of London; and that the copy now at Cambridge was the private copy of Archbishop Parker; which is allowed however, to be the *most authentic extant*.\*

We have at length arrived at the arguments, which are to prove, beyond all contradiction, that *the articles of the church are Calvinistic*. We consider of very little importance to this question, what may have been the individual opinions of the Reformers. We believe that it was their intention in drawing up the articles not to give their own opinions, in which we may reasonably suppose there might not have been perfect conformity, but to make such a statement of doctrines as could be fairly drawn from the scriptures, should be sufficiently explicit against the church of Rome, and yet should

\* R. Adam's Religious world, vol. ii. p. 369.—Broughton's Hist. Library, vol. i. p. 84. Selden and Heylin both assert the genuineness of the clause to which the Reviewer objects. It was in the copy of articles adopted in 1552, though surreptitiously erased in subsequent editions.

leave no room for dissention among themselves, on points, at least, with which they were then conversant. This is the opinion of many of the ablest divines both of the English Church and of the Episcopal Church in America.\* The question is simply, are the articles of the church Calvinistic? It is very easy to overthrow the *whole* superstructure of what the Reviewer is pleased to call the "*unanswerable reasoning*" of Mr. Sparks; nay, we might by the same process prove the articles to be *Arminian*. The doctrines of the depravity of man and of universal redemption are both explicitly laid down in the articles: if then it is true that all men are born into the world depraved, and incapable of salvation; and if there has been "made a perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual," then *it is a natural and necessary consequence*, that all persons are made capable of salvation; they have been perfectly redeemed, entire satisfaction has been made for all their

\* The framers of the articles, "holy men, did prudently pre-discover, that differences of judgment would unavoidably happen in the church, and were loth to unchurch any, and drive them off from an eucharistical communion, for such petty differences; which made them pen the articles in comprehensive words; to take in all, who, differing in branches, meet in the root, of the same religion." *Fuller's Hist.* p. 72. *quoted in Bishop White's Comparative Views*, vol. ii. p. 23. It may be of importance to remark that Fuller was a Calvinist. To the same effect, say the editors of the *Christian Observer*, whose sentiments on this controversy, are well known. "Our Reformers, whatever might be the private opinions of some of them on disputed points, framed the articles with a view to include all pious Christians, without exacting a full and precise conformity to their own particular tenets." *Christian Observer*, vol. xix. p. 51.—*Note.*

sins ; and *they must retain this condition*. If it is said that we entirely omit to notice the article on predestination, we reply, in the same manner, does Mr. Sparks neglect all notice of the article on universal redemption ; nay, more, he draws inferences in direct contradiction to its express terms. Do our readers need any thing more to show the absurdity of this piece of *unanswerable reasoning* ? Did they ever hear of a man's being called upon to subscribe to doctrines which were matter of *inference only* ? Suppose we were to infer that these writers are Mahometans, because they agree with them in a point or two which might be named, would they think us justified ?\*

But that our readers may have an opportunity of deciding for themselves on this point, that they may see how cautious is the language of the Church, and with

\* Mr. Sparks's *premises*, as founded on the articles, are false. The doctrine of depravity is not laid down either in the articles or homilies in *stronger* terms than in the third point of Arminianism ; and the article on predestination no where speaks of " *A CERTAIN number*" of the elect. The language of the article is extremely guarded in this respect. See Bishop White's *Comparative Views*, vol. ii. p. 30. The paucity of the extracts of the Reviewer from the Homilies, to support his construction of the 17th article would be, in such a work, we think, conclusive evidence against the opinion that the Reformers intended to express that doctrine distinctly. We conceive, however, that even they have no reference to the doctrine, and as a plain proof of it, we give the following from the *same* Homily.—" Our Saviour Christ testifieth of *poor men*, that they are dear unto him, and that he loveth them *especially* ; for he calleth them his little ones, by a name of tender love : he saith they be his brethren. And St. James saith, that God hath *chosen* them to be the heirs of his kingdom." Will it be pretended, therefore, that all the subjects of alms giving were God's chosen ones ?

what an even hand she holds the balance between the rival systems of Calvinism and Arminianism, we will set before them side by side, the Articles of the Church which are referred to, and the "five points" of the other systems, taken from R. Adam's Religious World Displayed.

*Calvinism.*

*Articles of the Church.*

*Arminianism.*

1. God has chosen a certain number in Christ to eternal glory before the foundation of the world, according to his immutable purpose, and of his free grace and love, without the least foresight of faith, good works, or any condition performed by the creatures; and that the rest of mankind he was pleased to pass by, and ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sins, to the praise of his vindictive justice.

17th.—Predestination unto life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the earth were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpose by his spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made the sons of God by adoption: they walk religiously in good works, and at length by God's grace, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the workings of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minds to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish, and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle

1. God from all eternity, determined to bestow salvation on those whom he foresaw would persevere unto the end in their faith in Christ Jesus; and to inflict everlasting punishments on those who should continue in unbelief, and resist to the end his divine assistance: so that election was conditional, and reprobation in like manner, the result of foreseen infidelity and persevering wickedness.

*Calvinism.**Articles of the Church.**Arminianism.*

their love towards God: so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy scripture: and in our doings that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

2. Jesus Christ by his sufferings and death, made an atonement only for the sins of the elect.

Art. 31. The offering of Christ once made, is that *perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual*, and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone.\*

2. Jesus Christ by his sufferings and death, made an atonement for the sins of all mankind and of every individual in particular; none, however, but those who believe in him, can be partakers of their divine benefit.

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\* "When the question concerning the extent of the design of the death of Christ," says Bishop White on the authority of Brandt,—“came on in the synod of Dort, in the 74th session; two of the English deputies Ward and Davenant maintained that it was for all mankind, while the Bp. of Landaff and Goad affirmed it to be partial, and when the 31st article of their church was brought into view the Bishop interpreted it as being intended for all sorts of men. Balquanquall, the representative of the Scotch church, spoke at large for the *partiality* of redemption.” The good

*Calvinism.*

3. Mankind are *totally depraved* in consequence of the fall; and by virtue of Adam's being their public head, the guilt of his sin was imputed and a corrupt nature conveyed to all his posterity, from which proceed all actual transgression, and by sin we are made subject to death and all miseries, temporal, spiritual and eternal.

4. All whom God has predestinated to life, he is pleased, in his appointed time, *effectually to call* by his

*Articles of the Church.*

Art. 9. Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam (as the Pelagians do vainly talk): but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man *is very far gone from original righteousness and is of his own nature inclined to evil*, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into the world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek *φύσις σαρκός*, which some, do expound the wisdom, some, sensuality, some, affection, some, the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptised: yet the apostle doth confess that concupiscence and lust hath of itself, the nature of sin.

10th. The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength, and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and ac-

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3. True faith cannot proceed from the exercise of our natural faculties and powers, nor from the force and operation of freewill; since man *in consequence of his natural corruption, is incapable either of thinking or doing any good thing*: and therefore it is necessary to his conversion that he be regenerated, and renewed by the operation of the Holy Ghost, which is the gift of God through Jesus Christ.

4. Divine grace or the energy of the Holy Ghost, begins and perfects every thing that can be called good

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Bishop, it seems, was obliged to travel out of the literal and grammatical sense of the article, in order to accommodate it to Calvinism, while the Scotch deputy, having the explicit language of his church to favour him, needed no such finesse. See White's *Comparative Views*, vol. ii. p. 66.



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word and spirit, out of that state of sin and death, in which they are by nature, to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ.

*Articles of the Church.*

ceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.

*Arminianism.*

in man, and, consequently, all good works are to be attributed to God alone; nevertheless, *this grace is offered to all, and does not force men to act against their inclinations, but may be resisted, and rendered ineffectual by the perverse will of the impenitent sinner.*

5. Those whom God has effectually called and sanctified by his spirit, *shall not finally fall from a state of grace.*

16th. Not every deadly sin, willingly committed after baptism, is sin against the Holy Ghost and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after baptism. *After we have received the Holy Ghost we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin; and by the grace of God (we may) arise again and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned who say that they can no more sin so long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.*

5. God gives to the truly faithful who are regenerated by his grace, the means of preserving themselves in this state; the regenerate *may lose true justifying faith, fall from a state of grace, and die in their sins.*

[*The Puritans, at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, required that the words—yet neither totally nor finally—should be inserted after,—may fall into sin. This, however, which would have made this article Calvinistic, was refused them.*

It will be seen by the reader that the two doctrines of the depravity of human nature, and predestination unto life, are not peculiar to either creed, but are held by all though differently expressed in each. The doctrines of irresistible grace, of the perseverance of the saints, and of particular redemption, are found only in the Calvinistic system, and are more or less distinctly opposed in the others. We shall now allege some facts to show, that the Articles of the Church have never been considered by those best qualified to judge, to be *clearly Calvinistic*.

That the articles have not been considered as possessing this character is shown :

1. By the dispute at Oxford in 1595, which seems to have been on a point similar to that now before us, to settle which on the principles of Calvinism, Archbishop Whitgift drew up and sent as "the undoubted sense of the Church of England," the famous *Lambeth Articles*, some of which, in our opinion, are rather inconsistent with the articles of the church. Besides, to use the language of Bishop White, "what occasion was there for them if their sense had already been declared in the Thirty-nine?"\*

2. By the fact that they were adopted by the Church of Ireland in 1634, *through the influence of Archbishop Laud* whose principles are acknowledged on all hands to have been *anti-calvinistic*.†

\* Comparative Views, vol. ii. p. 174.—et seq.

† A set of articles drawn up by Archbishop Usher had previously been adopted by the Irish church, but Archbishop Laud succeeded in having them rejected, and the Thirty-nine introduced. R. Adam's Religious World, vol. ii. p. 369.

3. By the fact that the Westminster Assembly of (Calvinistic) Divines, which sat in 1643, rejected the Thirty-nine Articles ; and drew up a new system, in which great precision was used on the points peculiar to Calvinism.

4. By the declaration of King Charles I. annexed to the English articles, that " in those curious points, in which the present differences of men lie, men of all sorts take the articles to be for them."\*

5. By the " Dissenters reasons for separating from the Church of England," drawn up by Dr. Gill, an eminent Calvinistic Baptist. In the fourth reason, referring to the articles, it is said, they " are very defective in *many* things : there are no articles relating to the two covenants of *grace* and works ; to creation and providence ; to *the fall of man* ; the nature of sin, and the punishments for it ; to *adoption, effectual vocation* ; sanctification, faith, repentance and *the final perseverance of the saints* ; nor to the law of God ; Christian liberty ; church government and discipline ; the communion of the saints, the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgement."

6. In the Liturgy *proposed* to be adopted by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church

\* " Though some differences have been ill raised, yet we take comfort in this, that all clergymen within our realm have always, most willingly subscribed to the articles established : which is an argument to us that they all agree in the true, usual, and literal, meaning of the said articles, and that even in those curious points, in which the present differences of men lie, men of all sorts take the articles to be for them." This is a very distinct reference to the Calvinistic and Arminian controversy. See also Bishop White's *Comparative Views*, vol. ii. p. 182.

held in Philadelphia in 1785, the articles were reduced in number to *twenty*, and were somewhat altered, certainly without any *additional bias to Calvinism*, and yet in the preface, where an account of the alterations is given, it is said, "the articles of religion have been reduced in number, yet it is humbly conceived that *the doctrines of the Church of England, are preserved entire ; as being judged perfectly agreeable to the gospel.*"

7. It has been publickly asserted, and never yet denied, that in the General Convention, which, in 1801 *unanimously* adopted the Articles as they now stand, there was not a single person, who either held the peculiar doctrines of Calvin, or who understood the Articles as supporting them.\*

8. The Protestant Episcopal Church of *Scotland*, on being admitted to the benefits of toleration, was required to adopt the Thirty-nine Articles. The clergy accordingly subscribed them in a general Convocation at Lawrencekirk in 1804 ; and they subscribed them, "*I believe,*" says Adam, "*to a man in the anti-calvinistic sense.*"†

9. The Reviewer concedes that "a great majority of the clergy of the English church both in *Europe* and America is understood to entertain sentiments the opposite of those of Calvin," and "yet to these articles in entering on their office they give in the most solemn manner their assent." And the editors of the Edinburgh En-

\* Six only of the members of the Convention, which in 1785 set forth the "proposed book," were members of that in 1801. Two states not represented in the former, were in the latter ; and two states represented in the former were not in the last. Considerable opportunity was thus afforded for diversity of opinion.

† R. Adam's Religious world, vol. ii, p. 425.

cyclopedia admit, that "some of the most learned and conscientious of her divines have doubted whether the articles are Calvinistic or Lutheran." Adam asserts on the authority of Burnet, Waterland and others, that some of the Reformers were inclined to the Calvinistic, and others to the Arminian scheme. It is, however, an undoubted fact, that many persons, subsequently to the return of the exiles from Holland and Geneva to England in the reign of Elizabeth, have construed the articles in a Calvinistic sense as far as they go, and have defended them as such, but it is equally unquestionable, that such persons have ever considered them *defective* as a scheme of Calvinistic doctrine.\*

Upon what grounds, then, consistent with that charity which *hopeth all things*, or even with manly feeling, could the Reviewer represent the conduct of so large a body of learned and enlightened men as are included in the English, Irish, Scotch and American Protestant Episcopal Churches, entertaining sentiments different from Calvin, as *giving when entering on their office, their assent in the most solemn manner to CALVINISTIC articles*? Does he suppose that the person subscribing is bound by the *construction*, for it is nothing more, of Mr. Sparks, of the Reviewer, or indeed of any other person than himself? Can he be considered as subscribing to *matters of inference*, in opposition, both to the majority of those who have gone before him, and to the express terms of the articles themselves? How preposterous!

The Reviewer asserts that with regard to subscription, the English Clergyman is more leniently dealt with

\* Review, p. 51.—Edin. Ency. vol. viii. p. 625, Philadelphia edition. R. Adam's Religious world, vol. ii. p. 371.

than the American ; for he is required only to engage for the present, and to “acknowledge all and every of the articles to be agreeable to the word of God,” while “the American must take on him obligations for the future.”\* He probably *did not know* that in England and Ireland before any clergyman can be admitted to a benefice, or, as a lecturer, he must make a similar declaration of conformity ;—and that in Ireland subscription to all, or any of the articles is not necessary either at ordination, or institution.† As to his remarks, that the clergy of the Episcopal church are required formally to renounce the advantage of future enquiry, we need only say that the doctrine of the church is ex-

\* Bishop White it seems thinks differently, and as the sentiments of this amiable and learned prelate ought to have weight, both from his character and the part he has taken in the whole of the general transactions of the church, we give it here. “There is one particular in which there is less provision for uniformity of sentiment in this church, than in the church of England. It is in the form of subscription : that of the *former* church, being in words not admitting of the construction that the articles require consent in every minute particular. Unless a candidate for the ministry be fully satisfied with them as a body of Christian doctrine ; he prevaricates if he assents to them. *But this does not pledge him to the extent here affirmed to be avoided.*” Comparative Views, vol. ii. p. 191. The only subscription, or declaration, required of a candidate for orders in the American Episcopal Church is the following. “I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation. And I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrines and discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States,”

† See Christian Observer, vol. xviii. p. 515. Browne’s Ecclesiastical Law, vol. ii. p. 244, quoted in R. Adam’s Religious World, vol. ii. p. 370.

plicit only on points considered fundamental, and generally received as such, while considerable latitude is allowed for the indulgence of private opinion and research. The fundamental doctrines of the gospel are not to be sought for, at this late period ; they have long been established and known. Conformity may with great propriety be required to them, and he who is not prepared for this, is not fitted to enter the ministry of a church which rests upon them.\*

The Reviewer next travels out of the points in controversy to give us a review of Paley's chapter on subscription. Thither we shall not follow him. We can, by no means, assent to Paley's doctrine ; on the contrary, we think it highly dangerous, and should regret to see it defended.

We are next favoured with a neat speculation on the use of creeds ;—those *nuisances* of creeds,—as he,

\* We are fully aware of all that may be said about the *kindling of a glorious blaze of light* in our day, and around us. Its lustre already has dazzled and sometimes confused us a little. We have looked with some patience to a few critics, who have promised us to lighten our darkness with large portions of this illumination, but we have found the *rays* to partake very much of the *random* and eccentric character of the *northern lights*, or more classically, the Aurora Borealis. We have endeavoured in vain to fix our eyes *steadily* upon them. One finds copious faults in the good old translation of the Scriptures, and obligingly asks us to submit to his rendering of the places to which in particular he objects ; this, perhaps, is literal, or nearly so. We look at it, and discover that it needs another translation to make it intelligible. This difficulty he obviates, by politely giving us *his own exposition, or opinion*, which, perhaps, it would be a sin to call a *creed*. Another however is more liberal, and supplies us with half a dozen different renderings, telling us with all the courteousness of a shop-keeper

scavenger like, is pleased to term them. We are sure that men of good sense will smile at the self-compla-

"take which you please, gentlemen." Give up the received translation on the points obnoxious to these *enlightened* men, and all is well.

"Hence comment after comment, spun as fine  
As bloated spiders draw the flimsy line :  
Hence the same word, that bids our lusts obey,  
Is misapplied to sanctify their sway—  
If stubborn Greek refuse to be his friend,  
Hebrew, or Syriac, shall be forced to bend :  
If languages and copies all cry, no—  
Somebody proved it centuries ago.  
Like trout pursued, the critic, in despair,  
Darts to the mud, and finds his safety there."

*Cowper's Progress of Error.*

The translators of the Bible who were commissioned for that purpose by King James, formed together a mass of learning and ability, such perhaps, as it might be difficult to collect even in our day. "These learned men," says Dr. Gray, "in fact took in the whole scope of scripture, and collated its different parts, so as not to judge of expressions from a solitary view, but from a full and accurate examination." We do not undertake to say this translation is thoroughly perfect, but then when we cast our eyes upon the variety of *improved versions* and modern paraphrases, and observe in them the prevalence of party views, and discordant expositions, we are greatly in despair, not only of obtaining a better, but even of seeing as good, from any modern hands. We have in the course of our reading met with an anecdote which may serve, perhaps, to allay in some degree the feverish propensity for improvements. Walton, in his life of Bishop Sanderson, says, that before Sanderson's elevation he accompanied "Dr. Kilbie, who was one of the translators of the Bible in King James's time, into Derbyshire, and they being together on a Sunday at a parish church, found there a young preacher, who had no more discretion, than to waste a great part



cency with which the Reviewer has laid down a train for them to take up and *believe*. He accuses the Reformers of endeavouring "to perpetuate the blind doctrine of destiny," as if he was ignorant, that Unitarians,—modern and distinguished Unitarians,—had advocated the *stupid* as well as blind, doctrines of *materialism*, and its consequent, *necessity*; between which, and the highest ground of Calvinism, we leave to him to discriminate, heedless for ourselves, as to which he receives or condemns.\* In the conclusion of his specu-

of the hour allotted to the Sermon, in exceptions against the late translation of several words, and shewed *three* reasons why a particular word should have been differently translated. When the service was ended, the preacher was invited to the house of the doctor's friend, where after some other conference the doctor told him that he might have preached more useful doctrines, and not have filled his auditor's ears with needless exceptions against the late translation; and as for the word, for which he offered his poor congregation *three* reasons why it ought to have been translated as he said; he and others had considered all of them, and found *thirteen* more considerable reasons, why it was translated as now printed." The unlearned Christian may be satisfied with his own Bible till he finds the learned able to *agree* upon a new translation. The reader who would wish to see the opinions of Bishop Middleton, Dr. Doddridge, and Dr. John Taylor, of Norwich, (an Arian) is referred to Horne's *Deism Refuted*, note 2.

\* We have before us a little volume, entitled, "The doctrine of predestination unto life explained and vindicated in four Sermons, preached to the church of Christ, meeting in Brattle-street, (Boston,) and published at their general desire. By William Cooper, one of the Pastors of said church. With a preface by the senior Pastors of the town of Boston." "This doctrine," they say, "is embraced by us, as it was by the Reformers from popery, because we find it in our *Bible*. This it is, that makes us

lation he argues, as we think, less against the value of creeds than in favour of a principle, which yet, we cannot suppose he will adopt,—the depravity of man. We should like to know by what principle it is, that every man is to be permitted to mistake the conclusions of his own mind for the immutable decree of truth? To adopt the Reviewer's own simile, "it would be as promising an attempt to dam the ocean, or hold a comet with a kite string," as to ascertain under such circumstances, that truth is consistent with itself. The natural tendency of the human mind is, not to truth but to error,—“the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth,” and, we think, the Reviewer concedes something to this principle, when he ventures to predict what *may* occur to the Andover Institution.

The Reviewer passes over Mr. Sparks's chapters on the Trinity, with a general commendation, (we suppose, of *all* that they contain,) and the observation, that “he shall be happy, at some future time, to find an opportunity to recur to them.” This is all very well. We are inclined to the opinion, that the Unitarian side of the question is getting somewhat stale, even

Predestinarians and Calvinists: for Calvin, nor Augustine, nor any names whatever, are any thing to us, but as they speak to us from the Holy Scriptures. These are our only oracles. What we find there we believe and profess, though incomprehensible to our weak and shallow minds, which are by no means the measure of truth. And we think we act a perfectly RATIONAL, as well as reverent part before the High God, the infinite intelligence, in bowing our understandings to his revelations respecting truth and duty, even where we cannot answer every scruple or objection for the reconciling seeming oppositions.” Signed by Coleman, (Cooper's colleague) Sewall, Prince, Le Mercier, and Webb. April 15, 1740.

in Boston; its novelty is wearing off; and it is in a *new field*, where the habit of thinking has been different, and where the novelty of the subject will, doubtless, procure it some attention, that it may be discussed to most advantage; a random ray may there, perhaps, fall on some eye not wholly averted, and the happy man may discover, or think that he discovers, more of the nature of God, than he knows of his own.

We are now come to a subject on which we enter with real pain, because it relates to errors and infirmities which we, most willingly, would give to oblivion. We confess we feel much disturbed in the complacency we have hitherto been desirous of feeling towards the Reviewer on all the points of this controversy. But we will strive to be temperate,—we are determined to be just.

The Reformation in England is not to be considered as having attained a settled character, till after the accession of Elizabeth. This we conceive will be admitted: it would detain us too long to enlarge upon it. The nation generally was then satisfied. No opposition was made, except by those who still adhered to the Church of Rome. If the principles of the Church at *that time* were not perfectly satisfactory to the other reformed churches, yet there was, on their part, no opposition to them. This state of harmony was not, however, of long duration, for when those who had been driven by the fear of Mary, to different parts of the continent successively returned, many of them manifested an attachment to the forms of protestantism which they had severally witnessed. It was not, however,

till the 10th year of Elizabeth, that they began to display themselves openly, and from this time, notwithstanding the efforts made to check them, till the time of Charles I. they continued to increase. In the 18th of this reign (1643) the famous SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT was framed in Scotland, and subscribed by multitudes both in that country and in England; the person subscribing, at the same time solemnly swore "with his hands lifted up to the Most High God," to endeavour the ENTIRE EXTIRPATION OF PRELACY, or the government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops: and *all the ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy*. Both church and state were brought to the dust by this HORRIBLE league of superstition and tyranny. The profession of Episcopacy was, for a long time, not even *tolerated*. Even the King, while a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, was prohibited the use of the Common Prayer Book in his own family. Near TWENTY THOUSAND CLERGYMEN were actually turned out to beggary and want, and, as if this was not degradation enough, it was endeavoured to attach epithets of infamy to their persons.\* This course of things

\* "The severities exercised against the Episcopal clergy," says Hume, "naturally affected the royalists, and *even all men of candour*, in a sensible manner. By the most *moderate* computation *above one half* of the established clergy were turned out for no other crime than their adhering to the civil and religious principles in which they had been educated, and for their attachment to those laws, under whose countenance they had at first embraced that profession. To renounce Episcopacy and the Liturgy, and to subscribe the *Covenant*, were the only terms which could save them from so rigorous a fate; and if the least mark of *malignancy* as it was called, or affection to the King, who so entirely loved

did not last many years. In 1660, the Church was re-established, on the return of the King; and the

them, escaped their lips, even this hard choice was not permitted." And in a note, referring to Walker's account of the sufferings of the clergy, he adds: "the Parliament pretended to leave to the sequestered clergy *one fifth* of their revenue, but this author makes it sufficiently clear, that this provision, small as it was, was never regularly paid the ejected clergy." *History of England, Baltimore edition*, vol. vi. p. 123. These acts of oppression were performed by a committee of the House of Commons, which continued to sit for several years, and was denominated the committee of *scandalous* ministers. "The proceedings were cruel and arbitrary, and made great havoc, both to the Church, and to the *University*. They began with harrassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy, and ended with sequestrating and ejecting them. In order to add contumely to cruelty, they gave the sufferers the epithet of *scandalous*, and endeavoured to render them as odious as they were miserable. The greatest vices, however, which they could reproach to a great part of them, were bowing to the name of Jesus, &c." *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 359. Afterward came the ordinance of Cromwell in 1654, and swept from their churches the remainder of the Episcopal clergy. The following extracts from the Journal of John Evelyn, Esq. whose character is well known, and who was contemporary with the times alluded to, may be found in the Quarterly Review for April, 1818, and will serve to elucidate the note at the bottom of page 59, of the Review before us. "Dec. 7.—This day came forth the Protector's edict, or proclamation, prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching or teaching any schools, in which he imitated the apostate Julian." "25th.—I went to London, when Dr. Wilde preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach, or administer sacraments, teach school, &c. on pain of imprisonment or exile." The reader will perceive that the "convenient time," which the Reviewer says was allowed for their removal, was from the seventh to the twenty-fifth of December.

Puritans suffered in their turn. Most of those who came into power had felt the effects of the spirit of Puritanism, and, perhaps, were not so lenient as they should have been, placed as they now were above its influence. Endeavours for conciliation were certainly made on the part of the Church, for which there was no precedent on the other side. At the Conference in the Savoy, held by order of the King, it was easy to be seen, that little less was to be required than allowing Baxter to remodel the Church and its Liturgy. Whatever disposition existed on the part of the Church for conciliation there was certainly none on the other side. "They were however," says Bishop Burnet, "divided among themselves. Some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and a union followed, it would be easy to gain other things afterward. But all this was overthrown by Mr. Baxter. There was a great submission paid to him by the whole party. So he persuaded them that from the words of the commission, they were bound to offer every thing that they thought might conduce to the good, or peace of the Church, without considering what was likely to be obtained, or what effect their demanding so much might have in irritating the minds of those who were then their superiour body, both in strength and number."\* This inexorable disposition, was not only manifested by them, at the Conference, but they were also in the habit of speaking and preaching openly against the Church from which they derived their subsistence. No alternative being left to the Church, but, either to tolerate a Babel within itself, by allowing these practi-

\* History of his own time, vol. i. p. 180.

ces to continue, or to require conformity, the act of uniformity was passed, containing restrictions, perhaps, unnecessarily severe, though but in strict retaliation for the measures of the Puritans. It was expected, too, that the larger portion of the party, would not fall under the restriction, but that, in general, they would conform; "those however, who led the party," says Burnet,\* "took great pains to make them all stick together. They infused it into them, that if great numbers stood out, it would show their strength, and produce new laws in their favour, whereas, they would be despised, if, after so much noise made, the greater part of them should conform. So it was thought many went out in the croud to keep their friends company." They still continued, however, to preach whenever opportunity was given them, and no farther restrictions were imposed, till during the plague at London, when the Court and Parliament being removed to Oxford, some of the ejected ministers intruded themselves into some vacant pulpits in London, and openly reflected on the the Court. "This," says Burnet, "was represented very odiously at Oxford," and it produced a law banishing them five miles from any church, &c. in which they had before served; a measure which *we* do not undertake to justify, though it will be extremely difficult to show, that it was as unjustifiable as the previous conduct of the Puritans themselves, when in power. A more effectual method of checking their opposition was afterward found. In 1672, an order was passed in council, for paying a yearly pension of fifty pounds to most of the deprived ministers, and a hundred pounds

\* Ibid. vol. i. p. 192. See also Hume, vol. vi. p. 370.

to the leaders of the party. Baxter declined, but most of them accepted it. Bishop Burnet says that Bishop Stillingfleet assured him this was true. "And thus," he adds, "the Court hired them to be silent and the *greatest part* of them were so, and *were very compliant*." Dr. Reynolds was prevailed on to accept a Bishoprick.\* It is easily seen how Baxter played the part of a Bishop, notwithstanding his bitter opposition to the name and office. In Scotland, Archbishop Leighton laboured hard and long, to produce conciliation but *in vain*.† The Solemn League and Covenant was the shibboleth by which all true religion was to be tested, and, rather than yield even the *most atrocious* of its obligations its disciples resorted to arms and bloodshed. The ferocious spirit which was manifested in that war, by these men, is well known.

We may now see what leaven it was which, working within the very bosom of the Church, called for the expurgatory *act of uniformity*. And yet because of this,—because she did not, at a period now remote, succumb to these mistaken men so

" True to the jingling of their leaders bells ;"

the English Church is now accused of delaying the progress of the reformation ! For not folding their arms

\* Ibid. vol. i. p. 308. Hume, vol. vi. p. 371.

† Archbishop Leighton, will be at once allowed, we believe, to have been a man of the purest piety, of tolerant principles, and of eminent learning. He was educated in the severest prejudices against the English church, and conformed to it from principle. His character and his patient efforts to produce peace in the Church of Scotland may be found detailed in Burnet's History above quoted, vol. i. p. 134.—*et passim*.



while the rights which primitive Christianity had given them were sought to be trampled under foot, her clergy are accused of fettering the gospel ! For not casting herself, without an oar, on the boundless sea of prejudice and fantasy, she is charged with having broke the *spirit* of the reformation ! And noble, pure, and self-devoting as this spirit is allowed to have been, yet, she is accused of having corrupted it with "store of mitres !" But could must it have become ere such a bawble could have so strong attraction. For checking the spirit of enthusiasm and fanaticism, which would have swept away every thing which the mind had valued in religion because it was not *new*, or not *fanatical*, she is in this enlightened age stigmatised as intolerant and parricidal ! Our opponents feel no hesitation in making the sweeping declaration, that these restless, intolerant spirits ;—these men who had so much of fanaticism, and nothing of moderation in their disposition, were, in one general assertion, "the *best* scholars, preachers and," even, "*men* in the nation !" We turn with loathing from such disgusting adulation.\*

The identity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, with the Church of England, "in doctrine, worship,

\* "The writer of the *Magnalia*," says Dr. Eliot, "divides into three classes the eminent preachers who emigrated to New-England. The first were in the exercise of the ministry when they came over. They were educated either at Oxford or Cambridge. The second class comprehends those whose education was unfinished, and had only such advantages to complete it, as they could obtain in the plantations. The third consisted of those who were ejected from the ministry, after the restoration of the monarchy and establishment of the Episcopal church. They were pious and good men ; but in their literary accomplishments they were not superior to those who were educated at Harvard College, &c."

and discipline," has been officially declared.\* We do not, however, suppose that we are obliged to answer every charge which the ignorant, or the calumnious may advance. We see nothing to approve in the circumstance of her connection with the civil power; for though she may have derived some certain advantage from that connection, yet it has also been productive to her of evils of no light or transient character. In our descent from, and communion with, the English Church, we have much reason to be proud. She was the bulwark of the reformation. To her early labours, were even the Puritans indebted, for the first dawn upon them of Christian liberty. Her Homilies, the preaching of her ministers, and the use of her Liturgy, gave them the first knowledge they possessed of the gospel of truth. The first use which they made of the light she had shed upon, and the liberty she had wrought for them, was to turn upon her, and seek to drive her from her altars. Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and Hooper, with all those noble spirits who had given their lives for the establishment of Christian truth, had they lived to the days of the Puritans, would have found Gardiners, and Bonners, in the other extreme of error, who would readily have stript them of their dignities, and have deprived them, even in their closets, of the use of that Liturgy, which some of them had aided in preparing. It was no half way measure which these men sought: mere toleration was, to their conception, no better than nonexistence. *They* were to be the *dominant* church,—*they* were to possess the livings of the country,—Episcopacy was to be ENTIRELY EXTIR-

\* See Journals of General Convention, p. 310.

PATED. When at length the Church was overthrown, what special form was to appear in its stead? Behold, among the Puritans SIXTY different sects rise up; all of them claiming to found their principles on the scriptures; and all of them setting up exclusive claims to correctness:—the Church of Christ become but another name for gross fanaticism, and interminable confusion: religion wholly obscured, if not overwhelmed, the Universities disgorged of their baneful learning,—and England herself sitting down by Babel of old to learn wisdom in melancholy experience.

The Reviewer brings forward some general charges against the English Church, of too gross and abusive a character to do her injury. He who can descend to use such language against a Christian Church so fully in the view of all the world, carries along with him his own refutation.\* He alludes in the course of them, rather obscurely to the attempt made in 1772 to obtain a repeal of the act requiring subscription to the Thirty-nine articles. At that time there were about Eighteen Thousand Clergymen in England, and yet but *two hundred and fifty* were prevailed on to sign the petition! Some, it seems, and therefore, *we* should think, not of the *worthiest*, were desirous to enjoy the livings of the Church, while they wished to be released from the control of her principles. Dr. Paley, though applied to for the purpose, refused to sign this petition.

\* Those of our readers who may wish to see a candid and temperate examination of the Dissenting Gentleman's Letters, from which the Reviewer gives a long extract in a note, containing exaggerated, and as we have shown, in some instances, *untrue* accounts, are referred to the fifth chapter of Jones of Nayland's Essay on the Church.

We are yet to learn what assistance the Puritans rendered the English Church in its struggle against Popery. They were unknown as a body till after the settlement of the Church in the time of Elizabeth : while this was effecting they were waiting the event abroad. After this period there was no apparent danger from popery till the time of James II. and during that reign, we believe only a solitary tract by Pendlebury was published. "*The Clergy of the Church,*" says Burnet, "*wrote and published generally against popery, which however the dissenters did not.*"\* As Puritanism was not its ally against popery, so, neither did the Church oppress it till it had lifted its own parricidal arm against her. No ! Puritanism looked on when Protestantism was in danger, and then aimed to destroy the bulwark, which had stood between it and the flames !

Plainer proof is desirable, than any we have yet seen, to satisfy us that the ministers who were deprived by Archbishop Laud were all *excellent* men. That all of them were "parricidal" in their conduct toward the Church, is not to be denied. The heat and bitterness of the Puritans, almost necessarily produced opposition to their demands. And even if the charge, against Archbishop Laud, of intolerance and persecution could be supported upon *unequivocal* ground, surely, some atonement to society may be supposed to have been made, in the *sacrifice of his life, by those who were alike the enemies of his Church, and his person.*†

\* History of his own times, vol. i. p. 673.—Milbourne's Legacy to the Church of England, vol. ii. p. 162.

† "This blemish [intemperate zeal] is more to be regarded as a general imputation on the whole age, than any particular failing of Laud's, and it is sufficient for his vindication to observe that his

We see then that the spirit of persecution was visible among the Puritans, as well as in the English Church : and yet one would suppose, from reading the eulogies of such writers as this Reviewer, that these men had been *sufferers* only, and had never sought to give any measure of retribution, worthy of more notice than a line or two, in passing. Trace now the facts. In the reign of Charles I. *three hundred* (we take the Reviewer's numbers) ministers were deprived, for denying the validity of the Episcopal authority exercised over them, and refusing submission to the laws of the Church, and of the country, by which all the rest were content to be bound. When this party, on the other hand, came into power, they cast out, with *contumely*, to beggary and want, near *twenty thousand*, that is, all the clergy of the realm, who would not openly forswear the Church, to which, at her own altars, they had solemnly vowed to adhere. When the Church again obtained

errors were the most excusable of all those which prevailed during that zealous period." *Hume*, vol. vi. p. 80. Again. "That Laud's severity was not extreme appears from the fact that he caused the acts or records of the high commission court to be searched, and that there had been fewer suspensions, deprivations and other punishments by three during the seven years of his time, than in any seven years of his predecessor Abbot. I own that it is very questionable whether persecution can in any case be justified : But at the same time it would be hard to give that appellation to Laud's conduct, who only enforced the act of uniformity, and expelled the clergymen that accepted of benefices and yet refused to observe the ceremonies which they previously knew to be enjoined by law. He never refused them separate places of worship, because they would have esteemed it impious to demand them, and no less impious to allow them." *Ibid.* vol. vi. note [D.] end of the volume.

authority, through the free will of the nation; *two thousand* were ejected for requiring the Church to overturn her whole fabric; which they utterly despised, and many of them had sworn to extirpate. And yet the Church of England is represented as a persecutor, and the Dissenters are only "not to be acquitted of a persecuting spirit," while many of them are the *best* and the *worthiest* of men. Do we undertake to approve the severities which the Church exercised? Far be it from us to do so. Neither can we approve the conduct of those, who from *mere party* motives can, in our day, represent these matters in such unjust colors. "The truth is," as Bishop Jewel says in the preface to his Apology for the Church of England, "*this Church has been persecuted*, because she alone, of all the Churches in Europe, has had the blessing and singular favour of God to reform with prudence, moderation, and an exact and regular conduct; after great and wise deliberation, by the consent of our Bishops, Convocations, States, and Princes, without tumults or hasty counsels. So that the *Papists* themselves do even envy our primitive doctrine, government, and discipline, and both fear and hate us more than any other of the reformed churches. They are the same things that have raised the spleens and animosities on *the other side*, with whom whatever is older than Zuinglius and Calvin, is presently *popery* and must be destroyed. Tell them that Episcopacy was settled in all churches in the days of the very Apostles, and by them; and they reply that the mystery of iniquity began then to work; intimating if not affirming, that this Holy Order was a part of it."

Let us now turn to our own country, and see whether those, who, as it is now *technically* said, "fled from

persecution,"—those who went out into a wilderness to establish Christian liberty, adopted more enlightened principles, or pursued a more tolerant course.

The first settlers of Plymouth were part of the congregation of Robinson at Leyden. This congregation was not, we believe, composed entirely of those who fled from the persecution of the English *protestant* Church. If we are not mistaken, many of them were the remnant or the descendants, of those who left England on the accession of Mary. They were first collected by Robert Brown, whom we have before alluded to, and who left England with a few others in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1610, John Robinson, a non-conformist minister, who had had been deprived in England at a time when as we may say, on the authority of Hume, "the execution of the laws was tempered with humanity," came among them. "This *well-meaning* man," says Moshien, "perceiving the defects which reigned in the discipline of Brown, and in the *spirit* and *temper* of his followers, employed his zeal and diligence in correcting them, and in modelling anew the society, in such a manner, as to render it less odious to his adversaries, and less liable to the just censure of those true Christians who looked upon charity as the end of the commandment."\* In 1620, a part of this congregation embarked for America. The motives which led to this removal do not appear to have been *purely religious*, as they are often represented; and many of those who emigrated had, probably, spent most of their days in Holland. Their number was

\* Eccles. His. vol. v. p. 405. These we believe are all or nearly all the particulars of this man's life which have come down to us.

one hundred and one. The next year came *thirty-five*, and the year succeeding, *sixty*: Both these parties, we believe, consisted chiefly of *adventurers* from England. Among these emigrants, there happened unfortunately for him, to be a clergyman whose name was Lyford, and at a time,—according to Trumbull,\*—when this little colony was enduring “the sad experience of famine,” in a wilderness; when “the best dish,” which they were able to furnish this last company of emigrants, was “a lobster without bread, or any other article, except a cup of fair spring water,” religious animosity could so far operate upon them, that Lyford, and a Mr. Oldham “were discharged from having any thing more to do at Plymouth;” in other words,—they were ordered to “go into another wilderness,” and they,—at the risk of starvation,—were obliged to do so.”†

The next settlement was made at Salem, in 1629. The settlers were from England. Here, as we have before stated, was formed the *first* completely organized church in New-England. *Thirty laymen* ordained a pastor, and a teacher, and the *Governor of Plymouth* gave them the right hand of fellowship. It so happened that among this colony, there were two gentlemen named Brown. These gentlemen, disliking this procedure, were so imprudent as to express their dislike, and to charge the persons concerned with a separation from the Church of England; refusing themselves to participate in it, and introducing the use of the Liturgy.

\* History of the United States, vol. i. pp. 69–81.

† Topographical and Historical description of Boston: By Charles Shaw, Esq. member of the American Antiquarian Society, p. 15.



Here was room for the exercise of toleration. But no such *pestilent heresy* was to be tolerated : The colony consisted of three or four hundred, and it might spread among them. The Governor, therefore, rather cavalierly told them, that “New-England was no place for such as they,” and therefore they, and their prayer books, were sent back to England, in the very ships which had brought them out.\*

Governor Winthrop’s colony, which settled Boston and the neighbouring towns, was much the largest, and most respectable, we believe, of those which came out at any one time. In this company were four English non-conformist clergymen, who, a few months after their arrival,—no regard being paid to their Episcopal ordination,—were required to submit to a *lay ordination* after the Salem plan, before they could be considered as entitled to the charge of their respective churches.

MINOT, speaking of these colonists, says, “whilst they scrupulously regulated the morals of the inhabitants within the colony ; and offered it as an asylum to the oppressed among mankind, they neglected not to prevent the contagion of dissimilar habits, and *heretical opinions* from without. A law was made in 1637, that none should be received to inhabit within the jurisdiction, but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates ; and it was fully understood that differing from the religion generally received in the country, was as great a disqualification as any political opinions whatever. No man could be qualified to elect, or be elected, to any office, who was not a church member, and

\* New-England’s Memorial, p. 85, quoted in the Churchman’s Magazine, (New-Haven) vol. ii. p. 229.

no church could be formed but by a license from the magistrate.”\* This law does not appear to have proved effectual, for we have the following substance of a law which was published at Boston in 1649, given us by Shaw.† “Respecting ‘*heresie error*’ it is ordered, that if any *Christian* within this jurisdiction shall go about to subvert, and destroy, the Christian faith and religion, by broaching any *damnable heresies*, as denying the immortality of the soul, or resurrection of the body; or any sin to be repented of in the regenerate; or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin; or denying that *Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins*; or shall affirm that we are not justified by his death and righteousness, but by the perfection of our own works; or shall deny the morality of the fourth commandment; or shall openly oppose, or condemn, the baptism of infants, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of that ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the *first table*, or shall endeavour to seduce others to any of the errors or heresies abovementioned; every such person, continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall be sentenced to BANISHMENT.” “Any one denying the Scripture to be the word of God, for the first offence to be fined fifty pounds and severely whipped; for the second offence, BANISHMENT OR DEATH as the Court should adjudge.”

The following extract is given by Shaw as illustrative of the opinions and style of the writers of those

\* Quoted in Shaw’s Description of Boston, p. 134.

† Description of Boston, p. 136.

times on "toleration in religious matters." "One of the four things my heart hath naturally detested is tolerations of divers religions, or of one religion in segregant shapes. To authorise an untruth by toleration of the state, is to build a sconce against the walls of Heaven to batter God out of his chair.—That state that will give LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE in matters of religion, must give liberty of conscience and conversation in their moral laws ; or else the fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings will crack."

In 1640, a few Episcopalians, who had settled what is now Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, made a grant of fifty acres of land, upon which they erected a parsonage house and chapel. The Rev. Richard Gibson, who had been chaplain to a fishing establishment, was called to be their "first parson." "He was wholly addicted," to use the *courteous* language of Dr. Belknap, "to the hierarchy and discipline of England ; and exercised his ministerial function according to the ritual." But as this place was then under the government of Massachusetts, such schismatical proceedings were not to be suffered ;—*it was building a sconce to batter God out of his chair*. He was accused of scandalizing the government at Boston and denying its title. Summoned before it, he made his submission, and being about to depart the country, was discharged without fine or punishment. He probably had dropped some indiscreet remark respecting the prevalent opinions, or the right of Massachusetts to govern New-Hampshire, which furnished an opportunity, in his fear of the consequences, to get rid of him effectually. But this is not all. The Puritans obtained possession of the glebe, called the chapel

a *meeting house*, and notwithstanding the congregation which made use of it has been subsequently divided, yet, for no other apparent purpose than to retain this property, they continue to choose church wardens, an officer otherwise unknown in their system.\*

The members of the first Baptist congregation in Boston were originally gathered at Charlestown, but they afterwards met for some years on an island in the harbour of Boston. "Some of them *had been imprisoned and banished* ; and they were not allowed to meet openly in town till 1672. In 1678, they built a house for worship, out of which they were soon shut, and for some time encountered severe opposition. The General Court declared that the house was built without legal permission, and therefore forfeited to the county, &c. The act however was not enforced.†

In 1679, in consequence of the opposition of the local government, some respectable inhabitants of Boston, who were desirous of adopting the Episcopal ministry and worship, were obliged to petition the King for *protection*, which being granted, they soon after obtained a minister, and built a church ; not, as may easily be supposed, without many hindrances.‡

We might go on to detail accounts of this nature to a very indefinite length ;—we might tell of the banishment of Roger Williams into the wilderness, and of the gentle hint given him by the Governor, that he had not

\* Alden's account of the Religious Societies in Portsmouth, p. 5, and note A. The original " church wardens and their successors" were made " feoffees in trust."

† Description of Boston, p. 242.

‡ Churchman's Magazine, (New-Haven,) vol. ii. p. 137.

gone quite far enough, because he was yet within an imaginary line ;\*—of Quakers scourged at the cart tail, *or deprived of their lives at the gallows*,† &c. &c. But enough has been said to show, that the instances of persecution on the part of the Puritans, are neither rare, nor trivial in their character. These acts, let it be remembered, were performed by men who “ fled from tyrannizing Bishops,”—by men who “ for the sake of rendering a spontaneous obedience, and breathing an unfettered prayer, were willing to sit at their board with famine, and lay themselves to rest on rocks.” We are willing to rest the whole on the testimony of Dr. Belknap. “ They maintained that all men had liberty to do right, but no liberty to do wrong ; and it is too evident from their conduct, that they supposed the power of judging to be in those who were vested with authority,—*a principle big with all the horrors of persecution*. The exercise of such authority they condemned in the high Church party, who had oppressed them in England, and yet, such is the frailty of human nature, THEY HELD THE SAME PRINCIPLES, AND RAC-

\* “ Roger Williams,” says Trumbull, (Hist. U. S. vol. i. p. 105) “ was a gentleman of benevolence, and those who repaired to him [after his banishment] were sure of meeting with the kindest treatment. Whatever may have been his errors, *he was in one point more illuminated than his brethren* ; that to punish a man for any matters of conscience is persecution. While the Massachusetts, therefore, were excommunicating and banishing people *for their religious sentiments*, here they found a welcome retreat.”

† If Cotton and Norton, who are said to have led and participated in these persecutions, could be characterized as we have more than once known them to be, as “ eminent and holy divines,” we think, that charity itself would not find it difficult to speak of Archbishop Laud, in a style to the full as courteous. See note, page 155.

TISED THE SAME OPPRESSIONS, ON THOSE WHO DISSENT-  
ED FROM THEM."\*

Perhaps our readers are now prepared to admit, that *we*, in our turn, have some ground to rail at establishments ; for certainly, the instances we have adduced, abundantly prove, that Massachusetts, in her early day, allowed a union between church and state, equally as dangerous, as arbitrary, and oppressive, as that of her mother country. We too might clamour concerning " the selfishness, the chicanery and violence," exhibited in its history. We might dilate upon that " wanton severity," which exiled men *more illuminated than themselves* into a savage wilderness, and " beyond the reach of those who would have stood between them and starvation." We too could make outcries against a sect, " whose history is that of unrelenting strictness when in power, and of abject artifice and false professions when in disgrace." We too might tell how " through some changes of fortune, and with *the loss of the power* of persecuting, wrested from it by the growth of better principles in politics, it has continued, " with here and there an exception, to breathe the same haughty, exclusive," and *intolerant* " spirit." But shall we do this? Charity forbid. We pity the infirmities and the errors of the fathers of New-England, for they were our fathers too. We lament for the spots which stain their otherwise fair escutcheon, and *we* would have allowed the knowledge of them to have slept with them in the tomb. They had many virtues, upon the brightness of which we could dwell with pleasure. It is true, they did little, or nothing, towards achieving *reli-*

\* Life of Winthrop, p. 355, quoted by Shaw.

*gious liberty* in the *true* sense of the term ; yet if *they* did not understand the principle of toleration, with which later times have made *us* fully acquainted, it was the error, too, of the sincere and pious Charles I. of Bacon, of Clarendon, and, we suppose we may be permitted to say, of Laud. The truth is, that with regard to the times of which we have been speaking, the true principles of toleration seem to have been utterly unknown. Those who held each different class of religious principles, strove earnestly for the predominance over all others ; each believing that their system alone formed the acceptable religion ; each rejecting toleration as *soul poison*. Instead, then, of prolonging the spirit and temper of those calamitous times, we ought rather gratefully to thank God, that he has suffered us to have our existence in a time, when the search for the knowledge of religion is as free as any enlightened mind can desire.

But not so must we part with the Reviewer. His spirit belongs to the times long since gone by. His Review exhibits the grossest intolerance, and the most arrogant, presumption on almost every page. With the relief formed by his chisel, we see his *friend*, and fellow champion, striding forth as a giant in talents and learning, while the writer, whom he chose to attack, sinks back into the shade of sympathy, and is unworthy of his titles ! Who are “ the *best* of the early reformers ; ” — who “ the most judicious writers of later times,” but those whose opinions he thinks he can warp to countenance his theory ? Who are “ the *best scholars, preachers, and* (even) *men* in the nation” of England ;

—who “the best boast of the protestant name,” but those whose case happened to suit his purpose, and enabled him to bring forth a well turned period? “That was excellently observed, say I, where I read a passage in an author whose opinion agrees with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him mistaken.” And this, as was said in another case, “is undoubtedly the philosophy of the matter.”

With the spirit of such writers, we trust, we have not much in common. Claiming to ourselves, in this happy country, the hallowed right of a conscientious and undisturbed enjoyment of those principles which were the delight of our youth, and are the settled conviction of our soberer manhood; we cheerfully yield to others a similar right; against which, God forbid, that we should wish to infringe! Attacked in so boasting and pompous a style, by a writer possessed of such overweening self-confidence, we have thought it our duty to say something in self-defence: because it may tend to relieve our characters from the imputation of believing in an indefensible system. *Perhaps* this was unnecessary; for we see, and we rejoice that we do see, the *Church* which the Reformers consecrated by their BLOOD,—which has nourished within her bosom talents of as mighty power and as noble cast as any the world has seen,—and which has kindled the devotion, and received the vows, of holy and pious men for ages,—is now spreading to a glorious extent through our own country; while our brethren of Europe, are carrying forth the standard of the cross, to supplant, we trust, the idols of heathenism.



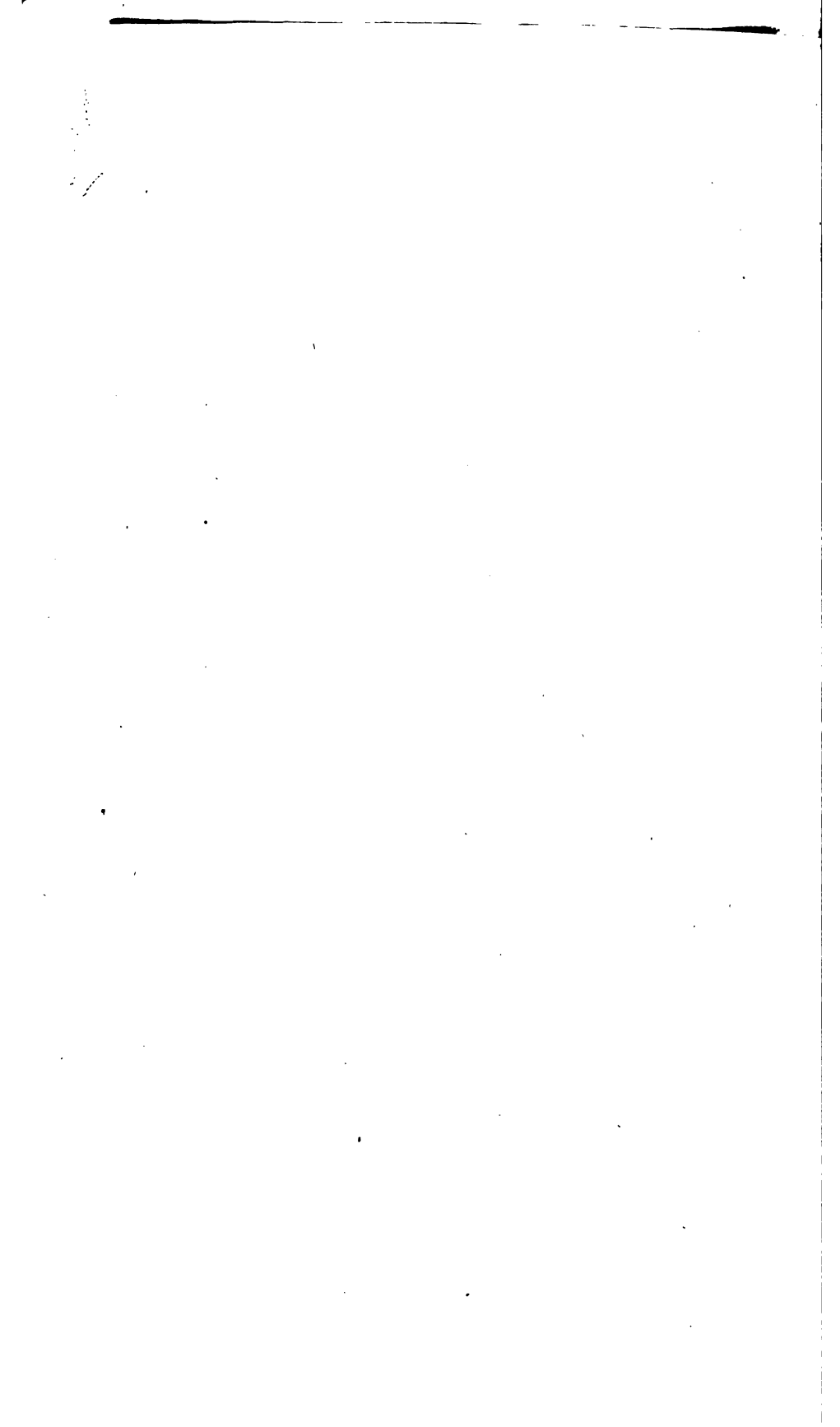
In laying down our pen, we feel constrained to take our farewell of the Reviewer, in what was once said of Gibbon's History : " The author often *makes*, when he cannot readily *find*, occasion to insult *our* religion : which he hates so cordially, that he might seem to revenge some personal injury."

*Vindication of the Episcopal Church—Errata.*

The circumstance of the Author's not residing in the vicinity of the press, will, it is hoped, be considered as an apology for the number and the magnitude of the following

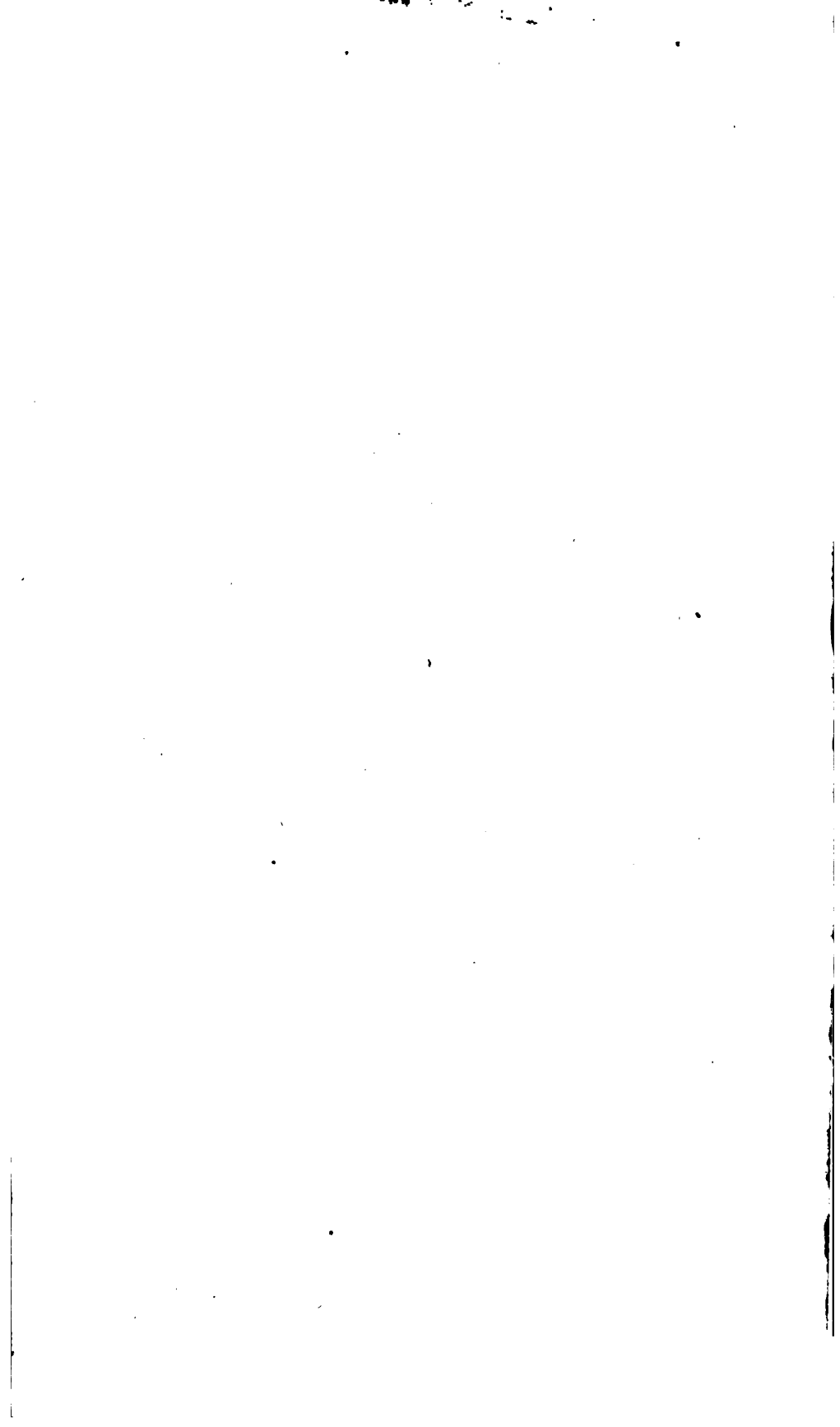
ERRATA.

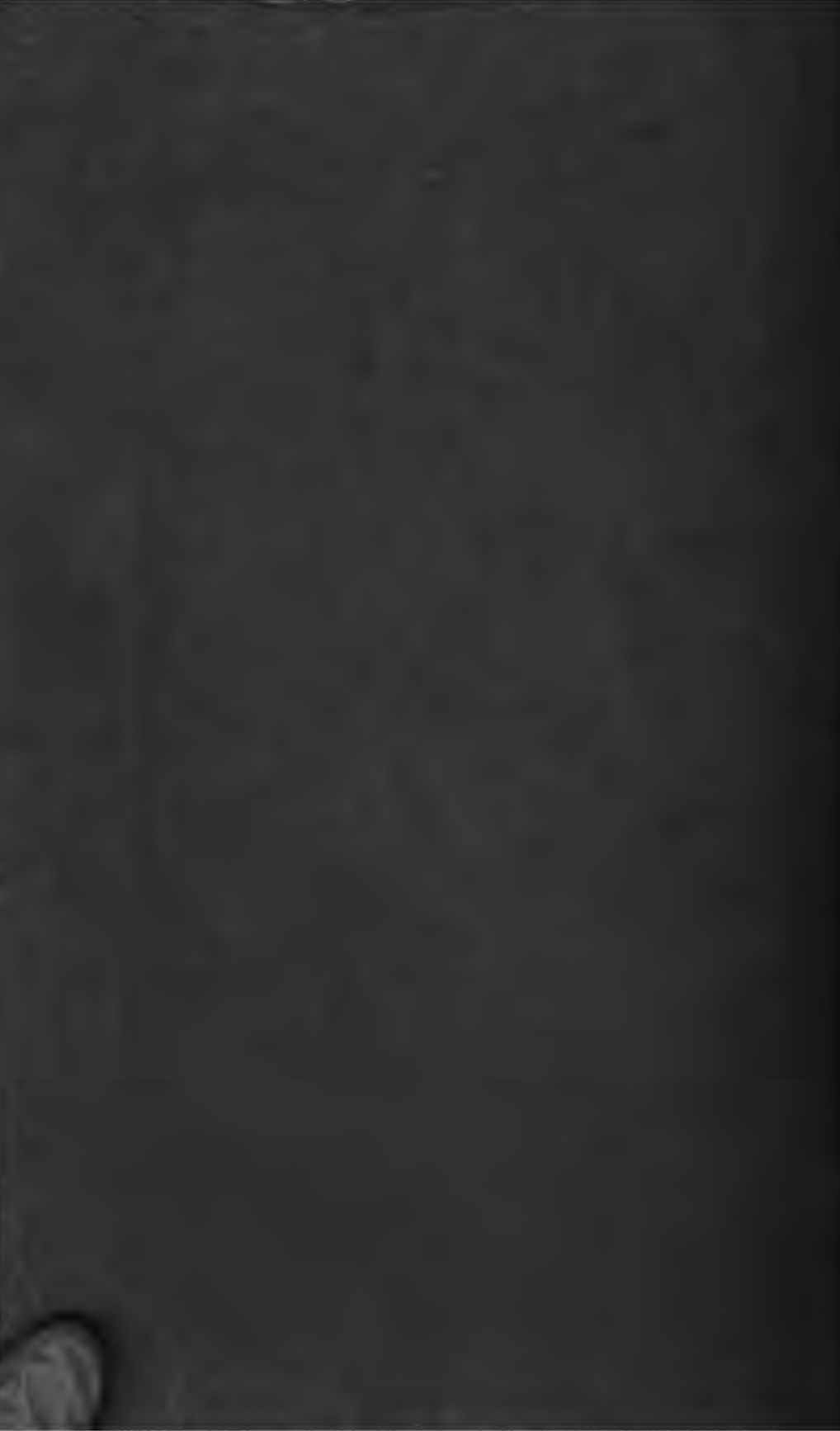
- Page 6 Lines 18 and 22 omit the inverted commas.  
8 3 omit from.
- 11 Line 19 for *disagreeable* read *disagreeably*.  
21 22 for *strong* read *strongly*.
- 27 and 28 the quotation from Chillingworth should read thus :  
“ When I shall see all the democracies and aristocracies in the world lie down *and* sleep, and awake into monarchies, then will I begin to believe that presbyterian government (and we suppose we may be permitted to say—or congregational) having continued in the church *during* the apostles' times, should presently after, *against the apostles' doctrines and the will of Christ*, be whirled about like a *scene* in a masque, and transformed into Episcopacy. ’
- Page 37 Line 5 for *reader's* read *readers'*.  
41 last line before *moderation* insert *great*.  
43 Line 2 for *dominion* read *domination*.  
47 7 for *pretensions* read *pretension*.  
56 Line 19 for *execute* read *exercise*.  
75 22 for *the sentence* read *a sentence*.  
“ 24 for *so at* read *so that at*.  
78 23 for *sectarians* read *sectaries*.  
86 12 for *as generally* read *so generally*.  
99 27 after *that* insert “ *our Churches are delivered out of all ;*” so that the sentence will read thus : “ We ought greatly to rejoice, and give God thanks, that our Churches are delivered out of all those things which displeased God so sore, &c.
- 122 last line for *they* read *he*.  
129 Line 18 for *that other text* read *the other text*.  
144 19 for *his poor* read *that poor*.  
148 14 for *University* read *Universities*.  
155 10 for *published* read *preached*.  
159 16 omit inverted commas after *so*.











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LETTER

TO THE

REV. DR. MILLER,

ON HIS

CHARGES AGAINST UNITARIANS.

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BALTIMORE:

JOHN D. FOX, PRINTER,

Corner of Market and Charles streets.

1831.





A

**LETTER**

TO THE

**REV. SAMUEL MILLER, D.D.**

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE  
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH  
IN THE UNITED STATES, AT PRINCETON.

ON THE

**CHARGES AGAINST UNITARIANS,**

CONTAINED IN HIS

LATE ORDINATION SERMON IN BALTIMORE.

[From the Unitarian Miscellany.]

*By Jared Sparks.*

SECOND EDITION.

BALTIMORE:

JOHN D. TOY, PRINTER,  
Corner of Market and Charles streets.  
1821.

1860, Jan. 2.  
By Exchange of  
Duplicates.

## LETTER

TO THE

**REV. SAMUEL MILLER, D.D.**

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SIR,

I have lately read your Ordination Sermon, which was preached some time since in Baltimore, and I propose offering for your consideration a few remarks on that part particularly, which relates to unitarians. You have taken special pains to make them hold a conspicuous place in that discourse; and although you do not multiply words, yet no one can complain, that what you have said is not sufficiently explicit and direct. Many have been at a loss to conjecture, what evil star could lead you so far out of the plain track of your duty, as to induce you to select that occasion for making so violent and unprovoked an attack on a class of christians, who had never shown any disposition to molest or injure you, or the society which you had the honour to address. And I confess myself to be among the number of those, who have not been able to reconcile your conduct with the character, which I was willing to believe you sustained, as a christian, a scholar, and a man.

I can easily conceive, that you might have no very high respect for the *opinions* of unitarians, because your own are so widely different. I can imagine, that you might regard these opinions as errors, and look



with concern on the spiritual condition of those, who were so unfortunate as to embrace them. I can suppose you might think it necessary, on suitable occasions, to point out such errors, to confute them by fair and temperate argument, and to make known their dangerous tendency. It is no difficult thing to imagine, that your love of truth, your sincerity, and your zeal in the cause of pure religion, might prompt you to so benevolent and pious a work. All this, done with moderation and a proper spirit, would not only be pardonable, but praiseworthy. It is every preacher's duty to support what he thinks to be truth, and by all just and honourable means to dig away what he conceives to be the sandy foundations of error.

But, Sir, when you take upon yourself the gratuitous and thankless service of coming thus publicly forward, not to detect and confute the dangerous opinions of a particular denomination of christians, not to win them from their errors by affectionate persuasion and salutary warnings, but harshly to brand them with the mark of heresy, to deny them the name of christians. and, what is worst of all, to charge them with immorality and irreligion in practice,—when you can so far desert the principles, which ought to actuate every christian teacher, and be the guide of every ingenuous mind, it would be a task more arduous and hopeless, than I should be willing to undertake, to find an apology for conduct so singular and obviously indefensible. From a certain class of preachers we look for pulpit denunciations, the fumes and phrensy of fanaticism; the storms of boisterous passion, and the misrepresentations of incorrigible ignorance. I say we look for them, because they have already been poured out upon us in no stinted measure, and we ought to expect, that the same troubled foun-

tains will continue to send forth the same turbid streams. And moreover, we have always found the most noise where there was the least argument, the broadest assertions connected with the weakest cause, and the greatest obstinacy proceeding from the greatest ignorance; and we presume it will always be so. But even these men, for the most part, content themselves with raising the cry of heresy, denouncing our sentiments, and barring against us the doors of divine mercy. Even they leave us in possession of our virtues, and seldom attempt to rob us of our good name. You have gone farther. It was not enough for you to fix the stain of heresy, and condemn us for deserting the true faith. You have struck at our reputation, and endeavoured to throw a slur upon our morals. You will neither allow us to have the name of christians, the praise of goodness, nor the credit of honest intentions. But before I proceed further, I will quote your own words. After entertaining your readers with the story of Paul of Samosata and Queen Zenobia, and assuring them, that "great cities have commonly been, in all ages, the hotbeds of error," you go on as follows.

"In great cities, likewise, or, at least, in states of society similar to what is commonly found in such places, has generally commenced that fatal decline from orthodoxy, which began, perhaps, with calling in question some of what are styled the more rigid peculiarities of received creeds, and ended in embracing the dreadful, soul-destroying errors of *Arius* or *Socinus*. We might easily illustrate and confirm this position, by examples drawn from our own country, had we time to trace the history of several sects among us, and especially of American Unitarianism. But I forbear to pursue the illustration farther; and shall only take the liberty to



ask, as I pass along—How it is to be accounted for, that the preaching of those who deny the Divinity and Atonement of the Saviour, and who reject the doctrines of Human Depravity, of Regeneration, and of Justification by the righteousness of Christ—How, I ask, is it to be accounted for, that such preachers, all over the world, are most acceptable to the gay, the fashionable, the worldly-minded, and even the licentious? That so many embrace and eulogize their system, without being, in the smallest perceptible degree, sanctified by it? That thousands are in love with it, and praise it; but that we look in vain for the monuments of its reforming and purifying power? I will not pretend to answer these questions; but leave them to the consciences of those who believe, that the genuine doctrines of the Gospel always have had, and always will have, a tendency to promote holiness of heart and of life; and that we must all speedily appear before the judgment seat of Christ."

To these singular remarks you add the following, in the form of a note.

"The above language, concerning the destructive nature of the *Arian* and *Socinian* heresies, has not been adopted lightly; but is the result of serious deliberation, and deep conviction. And in conformity with this view of the subject, the Author cannot forbear to notice and record a declaration made to himself, by the late *Dr. Priestley*, two or three years before the decease of that distinguished Unitarian. The conversation was a free and amicable one, on some of the fundamental doctrines of religion. In reply to a direct avowal on the part of the Author, that he was a *Trinitarian* and a *Calvinist*, *Dr. Priestley* said—"I do not wonder that you Calvinists entertain and express a strongly unfavourable

vourable opinion of us Unitarians. The truth is, there neither can, nor ought to be, any compromise between us. If *you* are right, WE ARE NOT CHRISTIANS AT ALL; and if *we* are right, YOU ARE GROSS IDOLATERS.' These were, as nearly as can be recollected, the words, and, most accurately, the substance of his remark. And nothing, certainly, can be more just. Between those who believe in the Divinity and Atonement of the Son of God, and those who entirely reject both, 'there is a great gulph fixed,' which precludes all ecclesiastical intercourse. The former may greatly respect and love the latter, on account of other qualities and attainments; but certainly cannot regard them as CHRISTIANS, in any correct sense of the word; or any more in the way of salvation, than *Mohammedans* or *Jews*."

Such is the language, which you found means to incorporate into an ordination sermon in Baltimore. The charges contained in these quotations I suppose you will allow to be of no ordinary kind. It is no trifling thing for any class of christians to be excluded from the pale of christianity, and openly charged with licentiousness and immorality. In the remarks I am about to make, I shall go upon the ground, which is too plain to be mistaken, that your charges were aimed exclusively at those persons, wherever they may be found, who call themselves unitarians. That they all do, or do not, hold to the opinions, which you choose to attribute to them, is a thing of no consequence as it respects my present purpose. Your assault is directed at the moral character of unitarian believers,—not as the speculative and probable result of the nature, or tendency of their opinions, but as it actually exists. It is the truth of your assertions on this point, which I intend to examine. I propose to make some short inquiries respecting the authority by



which you have ventured to declare, that among unitarians, you "look in vain for the monuments of the reforming and purifying power" of their religious tenets.

It is indeed most sincerely to be regretted, both as it concerns your own credit and the cause of truth, that you could not find "time to trace the history of American unitarianism," before you hazarded such a declaration. By such a process, you might possibly have made the public acquainted with facts, from which the integrity of your insinuations, and the veracity of your very bold assertions, would be more manifest. Or did you rely on the ignorance, as well as the good nature of your readers? In passing sentence of condemnation on a very large portion of the christians of this country, and in publishing against them the charge of immorality, did you feel yourself under no obligation to exhibit testimony? Although you confided in the implicit credence of a certain class of your readers, and pleased yourself with the idea, that you were writing for those, who were already prepared to listen to the hardest things you could say against unitarians, you certainly could not be so ignorant of mankind, as to suppose the persons, on whom you made so rude an attack, would suffer themselves to be thus calumniated, and to have their characters impeached, without exposing your unguarded asseverations, and demanding evidence of their truth. Although you denied them the privilege and the name of *christians*, you could not have forgotten that they are *men*, and as such can feel an injury, and perceive a violation of justice and the common laws of humanity, as quickly as other men of whom you might be disposed to speak in better terms.

Let me first ask you, for what purpose this anecdote about Dr. Priestley was introduced? What does it prove?

Nothing more, in truth, than that Dr. Miller, twenty years ago, had the honour of a "free and amicable conversation" with that great man, "on some of the fundamental doctrines of religion." This is the only *fact* connected with the anecdote; and however important this may be to Dr. Miller, it is not easy to discover in what way it concerns the public. I am willing to believe, upon the strength of your word, that Dr. Priestley said precisely what you have put into his mouth, and yet I cannot see the least connexion between these premises and your conclusion. Do you think it fair, or honourable, gravely to quote language, which has been used by any one in private and friendly conversation, and this from memory, after a lapse of twenty years,—do you think it fair or honourable to quote such language as a proof, that a large body of professed christians have no title to this name, and are "no more in the way of salvation, than Mohammedans or Jews?" And admitting you can reconcile this to your conscience, pray in what respect are the words of Dr. Priestley to your purpose, except upon the supposition, that you are certainly right, and he certainly wrong? If Trinitarianism be indeed the true doctrine, then we have the authority of Dr. Priestley, as reported by Dr. Miller, that unitarians "are not christians at all." And it is only upon this condition, that his authority in any degree sanctions your conclusions. Nay, let it be admitted, that Dr. Priestley actually believed unitarians to be no christians, or trinitarians to be idolaters, or any thing else, I would gladly know whether in your opinion, this would make it so? And above all, are the opinions of an individual to be made the ground work of a sentence of condemnation on a numerous class of christians, who may, or may not agree in adopting the views of this individual.



Since, then, this anecdote proves nothing, except the fact above mentioned, it is natural to inquire what motive could induce you to record it in a book? To me there is one obvious motive. Your sermon was intended for persons, who were very imperfectly acquainted with the opinions of unitarians. It was intended for those, who are opposed to them more from prejudice and the bias of early impressions, than from the convictions of deliberate inquiry, or a knowledge of the truth. On these persons, and especially on such as not only have not inquired, but are not disposed to inquire, and who are contented to take your conclusion without troubling themselves to examine your reasons, this anecdote, in the connexion in which you have contrived to introduce it, is well calculated to produce an effect unfavourable to unitarians. Whether the end sanctifies the means, let others judge. By making Dr. Priestley speak the language of this anecdote, and giving such a construction to his words, as you think suited to your purpose, you exhibit him in a character directly opposite to that in which he appeared during his whole life. No traits were more remarkable in his character, than his mild and amiable temper, his benevolent and christian spirit, and his desire to open the door of christian fellowship to all the believers in Jesus, and followers of his word. And yet, you have made use of his authority to justify you in the most illiberal censure, which one christian can pronounce on another, and in passing on the persons, whose opinions resemble his, a sentence of total exclusion not only from all ecclesiastical intercourse, but from the common privileges and hopes of christians. Few good men of any denomination of christians can envy you the character, which you have assumed here, of being a censor

and a judge; and least of all the task, which you have taken upon yourself, of passing a judgment so much at variance with the letter and spirit of the gospel of the Saviour, and even the common principles of charity.

In regard to the charge of licentiousness and immorality, which you have made against unitarians, you must not think me importunate in making a few direct and particular inquiries. I will ask you, in the first place, whether you have the testimony of your own experience? Have you lived in the society of unitarians, and do you judge from personal observations? Now, if I am rightly informed, this is not the case. You have never for a moment lived among them. You have had no means whatever of knowing the practical effects of their principles. And even with this, I will not say limited knowledge, but total absence of knowledge, you have dared publicly, and on the strength of your own authority, to impeach their morals. This, Sir, was a degree of presumption, which, however it might be looked for from other quarters, was not to be expected from a gentleman of your station and reputed worth. There has before been one instance among us, and only one it is believed, in which the moral character of unitarians has been attacked from the pulpit. But the result of this experiment was not such, it would seem, as to encourage any one in repeating it. The unwary speaker found it necessary afterwards publicly to confess his indiscretion, and retract his charges.

Although you have never witnessed the state of morals or religion in a society composed wholly of unitarians, yet you are undoubtedly acquainted with individuals of this belief, and some, perhaps, whom you have reason to call your friends. All the knowledge you possess from personal observation must be confined to



this acquaintance. And have you indeed found among these persons such marks of depravity and irreligion, that you feel warranted from their example in fixing a stigma, and passing the sentence of reprobation on a whole sect? Could any thing, but the most absolute knowledge of facts, be urged in justification of charges so flagrant? If it has been your misfortune to meet only with such characters among unitarians, and you judged from what you saw, it would have been but doing justice to the great body of those who profess their belief, to let the public know the source, as well as the extent of your information. As your charges stand at present, your readers are made to believe, that they are applicable "all over the world." And although you might think your conclusions deduced by good logic, others might not, and in a case of so much importance, it was your duty to make your antecedent propositions at least as clear as your deductions.

Let me inquire still further. Let me call your attention particularly to that portion of the country, where unitarian principles have been long prevalent, and where they are embraced by a very large part of the community. Are you prepared to charge the people of Boston, and its vicinity with a higher degree of immorality, and depravity of manners, than is found in other cities? Are you prepared to say, that the churches in that place, more than in any other, are filled with the "gay, the fashionable, the worldly-minded, and the licentious?" In Boston, if any where, may be found a proof of your assertions, because in that place the unitarians probably make the most numerous class of society. But dare you come before the public with any attempt to exhibit such proof? You dare not. You are too well informed on this subject to undertake such a

task. You dare not assail the moral characters of a great number of the leading and most respectable members of society. The Rev. Gardiner Spring, of New-York, it is true, has lately pronounced a libel against the clergy and people of Boston. Whether he was emboldened by your example, I cannot say. His rashness, however, has received its merited chastisement; and it is presumed he will hereafter think himself quite as well employed, in looking to the morals of his own party, as in calumniating the characters of others. And I venture to affirm, that you will never investigate the state of manners, the charitable and religious institutions, the morals and practical piety of unitarians, as a body, in any place, and have the courage to publish the result of your investigation, as a proof of the aspersions you have cast on them. This is an attempt in which you never will engage. Whoever will acquiesce in the truth or justice of your charges, must rely on your authority, and yours only. You neither will, nor can substantiate them by any credible evidence.

It is true, you have hinted at discoveries, which you might make, had you "time to trace the history of American Unitarianism." Let me tell you, that this was a very unfair insinuation. Your readers are left to imagine much evil to be concealed, which nothing but want of time prevents you from bringing to light. It is incumbent on you to disabuse them by tracing this history. Let it be done impartially, and then compared with the history of the presbyterian church, or of any other church, and no unitarian will shrink from the parallel. He will want no better illustration of the comparative moral influence of his principles, and no clearer refutation of your charges.



If there be any purifying power in religion, this ought to appear in its public teachers. Will you cast your eye through the ranks of those, who are commonly called the orthodox clergy, during the period of eight or ten years past? You may begin at Albany and go to Savannah. I need not mention names to bring to your recollection many facts of the most disgusting and disgraceful nature. They are too notorious to be soon forgotten. Debauchery, intemperance, forgery, are the dark and dreadful vices among others, which have been proved against several of the orthodox ministers within a few years,—and ministers, too, who have held the highest ranks in their respective churches, and shown the warmest zeal in defending what they represented to be the purifying doctrines of their faith, and in denouncing the dangerous heresies of other sects. But these, you will say, are individual examples, and ought not to be mentioned in disparagement of any class of christians. I allow it. I know they are individual examples, and therefore I will not introduce them to prove the depravity of other persons, any farther than such depravity appears. I call them to your recollection, because they seem to have escaped from your mind, while you were writing your sermon. You seem to have forgotten, that experience shows orthodox principles to have little power to secure the morals, much less the piety, even of those who have solemnly dedicated themselves to the ministry of divine truth. This reflection ought to have made you pause before you accused unitarians of immorality.

When you have taken this view of the orthodox side of the question, you may be still more enlightened by contrasting it with the history of American unitarianism, with which you profess to be familiar. I challenge you,

or any other man, to detect, in the annals of this history, a *single instance*, in which a unitarian clergyman has been publicly convicted of immorality, or even charged with vices injurious to his character. In the lives and in the affections of their people, you will find many evidences of their purifying example, and their ardour in the cause of gospel truth and practical religion; but you will look in vain for a memorial of those vices, which have disgraced and ruined many of their orthodox brethren. These are facts, which you will not pretend to deny; and the wonder is, that, with a full knowledge of them, an orthodox man should have the assurance to publish the asseverations contained in your discourse.

In regard to unitarians generally, I do not doubt there are some among them, whose lives and conduct are not so much influenced by religious principles, as every good man and pious christian could wish. But I would gladly be informed, if it is your opinion, that there are no such among the Presbyterians, and other denominations? Are all sects immaculate, in your estimation, but unitarians? Unless such be your opinion, upon what principles of justice have you singled these out, as worthy of your special denunciation? Unitarians are not in the habit of proclaiming their virtues, and their religious acts, from the housetop. *Pii orant taciti*. They consider religion a thing in which a man is intimately concerned with his Maker. Where it does not exist in the heart, speak to the conscience in the still small voice of heavenly truth, and exercise a controlling influence over the mind, the affections, and the will, they look upon pretensions, show, and clamour, as proving little else, than hypocrisy or delusion. Perhaps they do not make so much parade and noise about their religion



as some others; but even allowing this, it still remains to be proved, that they have less of the humble spirit of fervent piety, less of earnestness in their devotions and of ardour in their love and pursuit of truth, less indeed of any of those qualities, which our Saviour has declared to be requisite in his sincere and faithful followers. Now these are things, which I am well convinced you will never undertake to prove.

Your charges have an application more extensive than you may be at first aware. They extend to some of the greatest, the wisest, and best men, who have adorned the world. Your sweeping denunciation embraces all unitarians of every age and country. If your authority is to be relied on, Newton, Locke, and Chillingworth, were "no christians in any correct sense of the word, nor any more in the way of salvation, than Mohammedans or Jews." And even Lardner, whom all parties honour as the best of men, and unanimously quote as the most learned and able advocate of the christian cause, must come under the same censure. Those ornaments of the Episcopal Church, Dr. Samuel Clarke, Hoadley, Law, and Blackburne, must be ranked with those, among whom "we look in vain for the monuments of the reforming and purifying power" of their faith. The charge of immorality, of preaching to please and win the "licentious," and of "not being in the smallest degree sanctified" by their religion, must rest against such men as Emlyn, Whiston, Priestley, Lindsey, Price, Jebb, Wakefield, Chandler, Taylor, Benson, Cappe, Kippis, and a host of others among the English unitarians, against whose moral character the tongue of slander has never ventured to raise a whisper. Do not think it an impertinent question, if I ask you, whether you have ever attended to the biography of these men, and

studied their characters? Nor think me presumptuous in answering this question in the negative. I have too high an opinion of your probity and candour to believe, that with any adequate knowledge of this subject, you would have made the statements contained in your sermon. How do you excuse yourself, therefore, in the aspersions you have cast on their names, and the injustice you have done them, by asserting the immoral effects of those principles, which they believed the foundation of all true religion, and to the illustration and diffusion of which, many of them devoted their lives, at the expense of the greatest sacrifices? It is not much in accordance with the veracity of your statement, that the persons, whose names have just been mentioned, were remarkable for nothing more than their purity of manners and morals. I do not pretend there are no exceptions; but I am confident you cannot select an equal number of names of eminence from any sect, whose biographies and whose works bear such uniform and unequivocal testimony to their reverence for divine truth, their amiable and excellent virtues, their christian meekness, charity, benevolence, and fortitude, and a faithful discharge of their social and religious duties in every walk of life. Nothing can be more diametrically opposite to the entire spirit of your charges, than the facts, which may be collected by recurring to the lives and professions of distinguished unitarians. These facts you ought to have known and respected, before you engaged in the work of defaming them, blackening their moral character, and bringing an odium upon their faith. Do you believe Watts and Whitby became bad men, when they abandoned their trinitarian sentiments? Or have you any evidence, that they were not as virtuous, as pious, and as sincere practical christians, as



they had always previously been? It is possible, after all, that you accord in opinion with that paragon of meekness, candour, and charity, Bishop Horsley, who declared "the moral good of unitarians to be sin." If such be your opinion; if you really think it your duty to reprobate their virtues as vices, and to condemn in them what is worthy of the highest praise in others; then indeed your conduct towards them may admit of a plausible defence, but upon no other grounds.

These remarks have run to a greater length, than was intended. If they indicate warmth and feeling, you must remember the provocation. Your attack was rude, and wanton, and unprovoked. It was made without any justifiable grounds, and in defiance of truth. It goes, as far as your authority can make it go, to inflict a deep injury on a class of Christians to which I belong. His selfrespect must be very feeble, his sense of propriety very dull, and his religious feelings very obtuse, who could be indifferent to such a slander. And more especially, a unitarian of Baltimore, where your charges were intended to produce their strongest effect, would be justly censurable for want of interest in his religious faith, if he could look with complacency on the singular aberrations into which you deviated to assert not only the evil tendency, but the immoral *effects* of his belief.

And after all, what good did you expect to accomplish, by taking that occasion to anathematize unitarians? I am not aware, that any one among them had lifted his voice against you, or any of your friends in this city. Did you think it befitting in a minister of peace, and of the gospel of the Saviour, thus to apply the torch and kindle the flame? Could you do nothing for harmony, and christian love, and mutual kindness?

Had you no argument to convince unitarians of their errors, no persuasions to turn them from their sins? Had you no word of counsel and advice to diminish, rather than strengthen the prejudices of their enemies; to allay, rather than inflame the passions? Were the sympathies of your nature blotted out, and the common feelings of benevolence frozen in your soul? Had you no compassion, no kind wishes for the beings, whom you represent to be diving into the depths of depravity by system, and seeking their ruin upon principle? While hurrying down this dreadful precipice, did you think it the part of a christian to add what force you could to increase their velocity, and hasten their destruction? Could you not make a single effort to rescue and save? Such, it seems to me, would have been the conduct of a christian minister, who felt that interest for the eternal welfare of his fellow men, which every christian minister ought to feel.

I respect your character, talents, learning, virtues, as highly as any other person; but I do not respect these enough to allow you to judge and condemn my moral and religious character, and that of my brethren, without demanding of you some reason for such condemnation. That you had been misinformed and deceived is no justification. This will not heal the breach you have made, nor prevent the ill effects of your sentence. It was a case in which no man ought to have felt at liberty to act, without the most positive knowledge of facts. Your sentence of condemnation concerns us, not merely as christians, but as men, as members of society. You represent us as immoral from the influence of our religious principles; and if this be true, we ought to be shunned by all good persons, as dangerous to the peace and order of the community. You would raise against



us the inquisition of public opinion, and not only subject us to the prejudices of party zeal, and the caprices of ignorant credulity, but you would banish us from the privileges of society, the affections of friends, the charity and respect of the virtuous and the well informed. Sir, the course you have pursued needs explanation; you have assumed a right, which it is your duty to make good. You owe it to yourself; you owe it to those, who have been deceived by your representations; you owe it to the cause of truth, and of good faith; and above all, you owe it to those, whom you have traduced and injured, whether intentionally or not, to come forward with some testimony in your support, some proof of your assertions, some reasons for your violent attack on their morals, and their religious character. This is what they have a right to expect and demand.

#### A UNITARIAN OF BALTIMORE.

Among other English unitarians, not mentioned above, whose talents and learning have never been disputed, and whose moral character will bear any scrutiny, which the eagle-eyed malice of their enemies can make, may be numbered the following; namely, Bishop Clayton, Abernethy, Leland, Lowman, William Penn, Palmer, Tyrwhit, Disney, Kenrick, Simpson, Toulmin, Reynolds, Estlin, Dr. Enfield, Bretland, Turner. To these may be added from among the earlier English unitarians, Elwall, Biddle, Firmin, and Hopton Haines, the friend and associate of Newton. The rare virtues of Biddle and Firmin have been celebrated by all parties. Bishop Burnet bears the highest testimony to the excellence of the latter. *History of his own Times, vol. III. p. 292.* And even John Pye Smith, to whom the virtues of other unitarians seem not to be virtues, calls Firmin a "mirror of charity."—*Letters to Belsham, p. 88.*

Another writer has called Firmin "a man of extraordinary affections and abilities, for the great works of charity and piety." And the following are the words of the bishop of Gloucester, who was with him when he died. "He told me he was now going; and I trust, said he, God will not condemn me to worse company, than I have loved and

used,' in the present life. I replied, that he had been an extraordinary example of charity; the poor had a wonderful blessing in you; I doubt not these works will follow you, if you have no expectation from the merit of them, but rely on the infinite goodness of God, and the merits of our Saviour. Here he answered, I do so; and I say in the words of my Saviour, "*When I have done all, I am but an unprofitable servant.*"

Biddle was among the earliest of the English Unitarians. He suffered persecution, imprisonment, and many temporal calamities on account of his religious sentiments. No man has been more celebrated for his humanity, benevolence, and piety. His biographers tell us, that "he had such a lively sense of the obligations of humanity and kindness, that it was one of his first lessons, not only to relieve, but to visit the sick and poor, as the best means of administering comfort to them, and of gaining an exact knowledge of their circumstances; and as affording an opportunity to assist them by our counsel, or our interest, more effectually than we do or can bestow upon them." And again; "He was a strict observer himself, and a severe exacter in others, of reverence in speaking of God, and Christ, and holy things; so that he would by no means bear their names, or any sentence of holy scripture, used vainly or lightly,—and even in his common converse, he always retained an awe of the divine presence." See a *Short Account of his Life*,—and also *Toulmin's Review of his life*, p. 130, 131.

The following testimony to the excellent character of Dr. Priestley, is from the pen of the celebrated Dr. Samuel Parr, who knew him well. It is contained in his letter from Irenopolis to the inhabitants of Eleuthropolis. "I confess with sorrow, that in too many instances, such modes of defence have been used against this formidable Heresiarch, as would hardly be justifiable in the support of revelation itself, against the arrogance of a Bolingbroke, the buffoonery of a Mandeville, and the levity of a Voltaire. But the cause of orthodoxy requires not such aids. The church of England approves them not. The spirit of christianity warrants them not. Let Dr. Priestley be confuted where he is mistaken. Let him be exposed where he is superficial. Let him be rebuked where he is censorious. Let him be repressed where he is dogmatical. But let not his attainments be depreciated, because they are numerous almost without a parallel. Let not his talents be ridiculed, because they are superlatively great. Let not his morals be vilified, because they are correct without austerity, and exemplary without ostentation; because they present



even to common observers the innocence of a hermit, and the simplicity of a patriarch; and because a philosophic eye will at once discover in them the deep fixed root of virtuous principle, and the solid trunk of virtuous habit."—*See Appendix to Magee on the Atonement, p. 477.*

Even Dr. Horsley was forced to confess his respect for the talents and worth of his great antagonist. After expressing the little regard he had for Dr. Priestley's "argument on a particular subject," he goes on to add; "This hinders not, but that I may entertain the respect, which I profess for your learning in other subjects; for your abilities in all subjects in which you are learned; and a cordial esteem and affection for the virtues of your character, which I believe to be great and amiable." *Horsley's Letters to Priestley, p. 276. Let. XVII.*

The following remarks on the character of Lindsey are from a Unitarian, the Rev. Job Orton, who has been called the "last of the Puritans." They are contained in his *Letters to Dissenting Ministers.*

"I am exceedingly glad," says he, "to hear, that Mr. Lindsey's chapel was so well filled, especially in the summer season, when the London congregations are generally thin. I have had two or three letters from that worthy and excellent man, whom I much esteem, and hold in the same veneration as I should have done one of the ejected and silenced Ministers a century ago. I have nothing to do with his particular sentiments; but his good sense, learning, piety, integrity, and desire to do good, demand the esteem and affection of every consistent Christian, especially every consistent Dissenter.

"Were I to publish an account of ejected and silenced Ministers, I should be strongly tempted to insert Mr. Lindsey in the list, which he mentions with so much veneration. He certainly deserves as much respect and honour as any one of them, for the part he has acted. Perhaps few of them exceeded him in learning or Piety. I venerate him as I would any of your confessors. As to his particular sentiments, they are nothing to me, any more than Baxter's, or Tombes's, or John Goodwin's. An honest, pious man, who makes such a sacrifice to truth and conscience, as he has done, is a glorious character, and deserves the respect, esteem, and veneration of every true Christian, whatever his particular sentiments may be."—*See Monthly Repository, Vol. I, p. 304.*

Emlyn was remarkable for his piety and virtues. After a minute account of the interesting events of his life, of his patience and fortitude during his imprisonment and sufferings for his faith, his biographer adds; "Thus lived, thus died this excellent, holy, good man,

this eminently faithful servant of God; and in him the world has lost one of the brightest examples of substantial, unaffected piety; of serious, rational devotion; of a steady, unshaken, integrity; and an undaunted christian courage." *Life of Thomas Emlyn*, p. 98. London, 1746.

Archbishop Tillotson speaks of the "incomparable Chillingworth," and calls him "the glory of his age and nation." *Sixth sermon on the Efficacy of Faith*.

The amiable and christian virtues of Dr. Enfield are well known. Dr. Aiken, who was intimately acquainted with him, has said, that "religion was to him rather a *principle*, than a sentiment, and he was more solicitous to deduce from it a *rule of life*, enforced by its peculiar sanctions, than to elevate it into a source of feeling. His writings breathe the very spirit of his gentle and generous soul. He loved mankind, and wished nothing so much as to render them the worthy objects of love." *Aiken's Life of Enfield, prefixed to his Sermons*, p. 14, 27.

The character of Dr. Jebb, as delineated by Dr. Disney and others, shows him to have been a man of the noblest virtues, of warm piety, and the purest benevolence. Mr. Capel Lofft has described in glowing terms his "amiable, elevated, and exemplary character." "He died," says another writer, "a martyr to his zeal and activity in promoting knowledge, piety and virtue." See *Memoirs of Jebb*, p. 233.

Of Dr. Disney, his biographer writes, that, "In every thing he did, he acted under the influence of religion, and as in the continual presence of God. Piety was the leading feature in his character; and his desire to promote it in others, the first object of his mind and thoughts. The amendment of the morals of every person, the wealthiest and the poorest, with whom he had any intercourse, occupied his chief attention. All his undertakings had this end in view." *Memoir prefixed to his Discourses*, p. 23, 24.

The following is the character of Dr. Kenrick of Exeter, who was distinguished for his love of religious truth, and his profound attainments in theology.—"In a moral and religious view he attained to great eminence. Firm, upright, independent, he was, at the same time, kind and tender in his feelings, candid in his judgments, cordial and steadfast in his friendships, and generous and beneficent in his various intercourses with the world. The purity of his mind, his disinterestedness and self denial, and the zeal, which he constantly exercised for the accomplishment of important objects, were the genuine fruits of christian piety and faith. His devotion was a principle and



habit; and his consistency of conduct procured him general respect; while, united with the valuable qualities already enumerated, it cemented and increased the attachment of those, who had the happiness of knowing him in private life." *Memoir. p. 27.*

The above quotations have been made at random from such materials as are at hand. They are enough to show, that we have not spoken unguardedly. The characters of many persons, whom we have mentioned, are too well known to need any formal testimony in their favour; and we have no fear, that any of them will suffer by the strictest search, which may be made into their lives, their religious profession and practice, and their regard to the duties of virtue and piety.

THE END.

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THE

## UNITARIAN MISCELLANY,

*Published monthly in Baltimore, by James Webster.*

### CONDITIONS.

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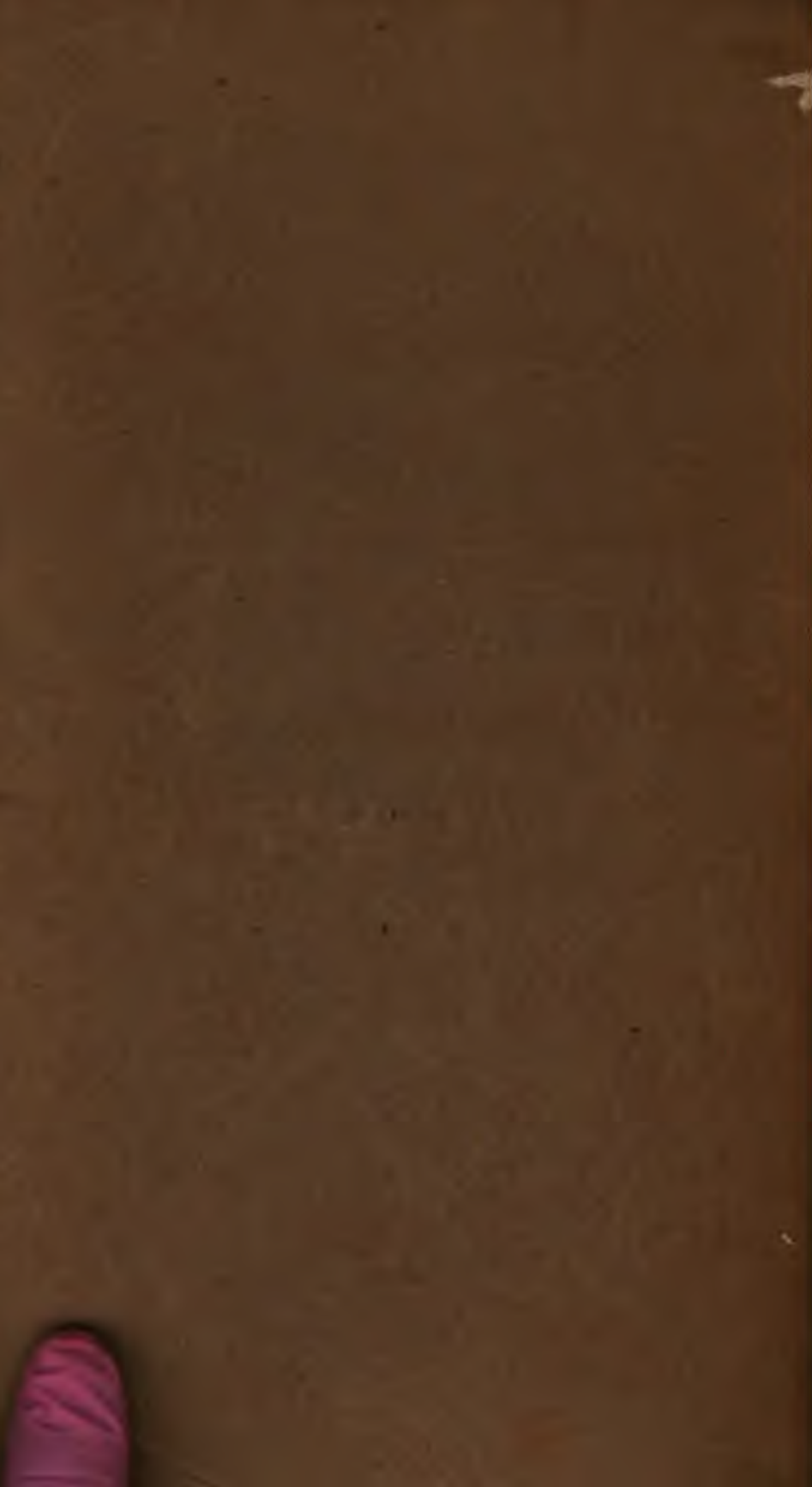
REVIEW

OF THE  
MANITLAND REPORT,

OR THE  
APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC LANDS

FOR  
SCHOOLS.

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**REVIEW**

OF THE

**MARYLAND REPORT,**

ON THE

**APPROPRIATION OF PUBLIC LANDS**

FOR

**SCHOOLS,**

AS DRAWN UP AND REPORTED TO THE SENATE OF MARYLAND, JAN. 30, 1821,  
BY V. MAXCY, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

*By Jared Sparks.*  
From the North American Review, for October, 1821.

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## REVIEW.

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*Report, with sundry Resolutions relative to Appropriations of Public Lands for the Purposes of Education, to the Senate of Maryland, January 30, 1821. By V. Maxcy, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Public Instruction.*

*Report on the Expediency of granting Public Land for the Support of Education in the Senate of the United States. February 9, 1821.*

*Report of the Committee on Colleges, Academies, and Common Schools, in the Legislature of New York, March 30, 1821, upon the Message of his Excellency the Governor, communicating the Resolutions of the Legislature of Maryland. By G. C. Verplanck, Chairman of the Committee.*

THE subject, which we are now about to consider, is manifestly of great national importance. It relates to a very extensive appropriation of the national property for the support of schools. Grants of national lands have already been made to a considerable extent, for the aid of colleges and schools in some of the western states. The same grants have not as yet been extended to the old states, and it seems now to be made a question, whether these states have any claims on the general government for similar grants, as a balance to what are conceived to be at present the exclusive pri-



vileges of the new states. The subject was first brought before the public, we believe, by Mr. Maxcy in a report made by him as chairman of the Committee on education and public instruction, in the Senate of Maryland, February 1, 1820. After stating the manner in which the lands have been granted in the west, Mr. Maxcy observes;

“The public lands, though *located* in the west and south, are the common property of all the United States. Each state has an equal right to a participation, in a just proportion, of that great fund of national wealth. Your committee can discern no reason why the people who have already settled in, or shall remove to, those states and territories, which have been formed out of these public lands, should enjoy any peculiar and extraordinary advantages from this common property, not possessed by those who remain in the original states. They are far from censuring that enlightened policy, which governed Congress in making the liberal appropriations above mentioned, for the encouragement of learning in the new states and territories. They, on the contrary, most heartily applaud it. But they, at the same time, are of opinion that the people of the original states of this union, by whose common sword and purse those lands have been acquired, are entitled, upon principles of the strictest justice, to like appropriations for the endowment and support of literary institutions, within their own limits.”

The Report containing the words here quoted, was introduced too late to be taken into consideration during that session of the legislature. The same proposition was renewed the year following by Mr. Maxcy, and defended in an able and elaborate Report, which was adopted by the Senate and House of Delegates of

**Maryland.** The following resolutions were passed in both houses.

1. "*Resolved by the General Assembly of Maryland*, that each of the United States has an equal right to participate in the benefit of the public lands, the common property of the union.

2. "That the states in whose favour Congress has not made appropriations of land for the purposes of education, are entitled to such appropriations as will correspond, in a just proportion, with those heretofore made in favor of the other states.

3. "That his excellency the governor be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing Report and Resolutions to each of our senators and representatives in Congress, with a request, that they will lay the same before the respective houses, and use their endeavors to produce the passage of an act to carry into effect the just principles therein set forth.

4. "That his excellency the governor be also requested to transmit copies of the said Report and Resolutions to the governors of the several states of the union, with a request that they will communicate the same to the legislatures thereof, respectively, and solicit their co-operation."

These resolutions have been accordingly transmitted to the governors of the several states. In Virginia, if we are rightly informed, they were assented to unanimously. In New-York a counter report was drawn up by Mr. Verplanck, chairman of the Committee on colleges, academies, and common schools, and accepted by a majority of the legislature. Connecticut has approved the Maryland resolutions, and adopted a report, which, among other things, contains a resolution requesting "the senators and representatives of that

state in the Congress of the United States to use their endeavors to procure an appropriation of a part of the public lands, for the promotion of the objects of science and education in the several states, to be divided among them in such manner and proportion as to Congress shall appear just and equitable." What have been the decisions of the other states, whose legislatures have been in session since they received the Maryland resolutions, we have not learned.

Before we undertake the investigation of the principles on which the Maryland resolutions are founded, it may be well to inquire a little into the manner in which the United States came into possession of the public lands. The greatest part of those on the east side of the Mississippi river, was derived by cessions from several states. The claims of these states to any portion of the lands, beyond their established boundaries, were, in our view, for the most part merely nominal, and in no case supported by any good foundation. Take Virginia as a memorable example. This state professed to claim all the extensive and valuable territory northwest of the Ohio, and east of the Mississippi. But upon what grounds will appear by a very brief statement of facts.

Originally the whole tract of country north of the Gulf of Mexico, extending to the present northern boundary of the United States, was called Virginia. This name was given to the country after sir Walter Raleigh's expedition. The patent granted to him by queen Elizabeth specified neither name nor limits. The new patent of James I. was more definite. This patent was granted with similar conditions to two separate companies, one of which settled at Plymouth, and the other near Cape Henry. The quantity of land of

which each was to take possession was limited to one hundred miles along the coast, and one hundred up the country, making a square of one hundred miles.

The settlers near Cape Henry were usually denominated the South Virginia, or the London Company. To this company, in the year 1609, and six years after the date of their first patent, was granted a new patent or charter, enlarging the boundaries of their former grant. And this is the charter from which Virginia professed to derive her title, after the revolutionary war, to the territory northwest of the Ohio. The boundaries of the tract, thus granted to the London Company, were defined as follows, namely, "being in that part of America, called Virginia, from the point of land called Cape or Point Comfort all along the sea-coast to the northward, two hundred miles, and from the point of Cape Comfort all along the sea-coast to the southward two hundred miles; and all that space and circuit of land lying from the sea-coast of the precinct aforesaid, up into the land throughout from sea to sea, west and northwest." *Charter of Virginia, sec. 6.* Few men at the present day, probably, would presume so much on their sagacity, as to attempt to attach any meaning to the last half of this extract. At the commencement of the revolution, however, it was discovered to have a very profound meaning, and on this obscure clause alone were built the claims to all the unsettled lands in the northwestern territory. The phrase, *from sea to sea*, it was contended, meant the whole space between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. But the claimants, notwithstanding, were not so exorbitant in their demands.

Their moderation brought them within vastly narrower limits, than, according to their interpretation, the charter warranted. By gradual encroachments other

states had been formed within what were contended to be the chartered limits, and Virginia was at length bounded on the north by Maryland and Pennsylvania, and on the south by North Carolina. By the treaty of 1763 between England and France, the Mississippi was established as the boundary between British America and Louisiana. This brought the limits of Virginia very much short of the Pacific ocean. And, finally, the claimants were contented to have their territory compressed within the lakes on the north, and the Mississippi on the west; thus giving up the very interpretation of their charter, upon which alone they professed to found any claim.

But what makes the thing more extraordinary is, that the charter was vacated, fifteen years after it was granted, by a *quo warranto* from Charles I. The company, to which it had been given, was dissolved. Oldmixon says, that this was caused by the mismanagement of the proprietors. Grants were given to private adventurers, who not only raised quarrels among themselves, but exasperated the Indians, and induced them to commit outrages on the peaceable settlers. To prevent further difficulties, king Charles dissolved the company, and annulled the charter. He took the colony under his own direction, sent out officers of his own appointment, reserved a quitrent to himself, and ordered all grants and patents to be given in his name. How then could any claim be made under this charter, even admitting the obscure clause, which alone was supposed to sanction the claim, to have any meaning? The charter was never afterwards made the rule of government in the colony. The king was the only proprietor, and Virginia was in the strictest sense a regal province.

This was also the understanding of the British government, as is manifest from the proclamation of the king in 1763, relating to the American colonies. It is there stated to be the royal will and pleasure, that no governor, or other officer in the colonies should "grant warrants of survey, and pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any the rivers, which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west, or north west." *Laws of the U. S. vol. i, p. 446.* This language is a proof, that the king considered Virginia a regal colony, and that its western boundary, even in that charter, did not extend beyond the Alleghanies. The Council of Virginia received the king's proclamation in this sense, as may be seen in a letter of the president of the Council to Lord Hillsborough. Afterwards, also, when lord Dunmore made a grant of certain lands on the Ohio, without the king's authority, he received a sharp reprimand in a letter from the secretary of state, reminding him of the "king's express command, that no lands should be granted beyond the limits of the royal proclamation of 1763, until the king's further pleasure was signified." From the facts contained in this short view of the subject, the inference is irresistible, that Virginia, as a distinct colony, had no claims to any of the unappropriated lands.—The subject of the Virginia claims was handled with great ability at the time, in an essay entitled *Public Good*, by a writer, who has been more famed for his acuteness and talents as a politician, than for the correctness of his moral principles, or his reverence for religion.

If the same investigation were pursued in regard to the other states, we are convinced their claims would prove quite as groundless as those of Virginia. The

parts of the charters, by which these claims were supposed to be sustained, are either so unintelligible, contradictory, or indefinite, as to render it almost absurd to make them a serious ground of claim. Take, for instance, the following clause in the charter of Massachusetts, upon which the claim of that state was grounded. After defining the northern boundary of the province, the charter goes on to include "all the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the limits aforesaid, and extending as far as the outermost points or promontories of land called Cape Cod and Cape Malabar, north and south, and in latitude, breadth, and in length, and longitude, of and within all the breadth and compass aforesaid throughout the main land there, from the said Atlantic or western sea and ocean, on the east part, towards the South Sea or westward, as far as our colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and the Narragansett country." Now, who can persuade himself, that he has any clear ideas on reading this passage? And above all, that it could give any just claim to a tract of country three thousand miles in extent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean; more especially, when it is known, that this would pass directly across the large grant, which had already been made by Charles II. to the Duke of York?\*

The charter of Connecticut is less obscure, it is true, and states in plain language, that the boundary of the colony should be "the South Sea on the west part." This also was given the year before the grant to the Duke of York, and is not, on this ground, subject to the same objection as the charter of Massachusetts.

\* The charter of the Province of Massachusetts Bay was given October 7, 1691; and the grant to the Duke of York, March 12, 1663.

But, before any *right* can be supposed to grow out of this obscure language of the charters and grants, is it not necessary to ascertain the views and intentions of the parties? It was the general impression, that the South Sea was very near the Atlantic. Drake had seen the Pacific and the Atlantic from the same point on the Isthmus of Darien. The proximity of the two seas was supposed to be the same along the northern coast. This is proved from several curious facts. Stith relates, in his History of Virginia, that in the year 1608 a company was fitted out in England, with a barge, that might be taken in pieces, with which the company were instructed, under the command of captain Newport, to go up James River with a view to discover the country of the Monakins, "and from thence they were to proceed, *carrying their barge beyond the falls to convey them to the South Sea.*" Hutchinson also gives an account of some of Champlain's people, who, "having been a few days' march from Quebec, returned with great joy, supposing, that from the top of a high mountain, they had discovered the South Sea." Such were the vague notions, when the charters were granted, respecting the situation of the South Sea, or the Pacific Ocean.

The truth is, the South Sea boundaries seem to have been another name for indefinite limits; which the king was afterwards to circumscribe and define as he should think proper. This is very plain from the circumstance of grants being made, which ran into the western borders of the colonies, whose chartered limits were defined in this obscure manner. Thus, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, were taken out of what were considered the chartered limits of Virginia, and made over by royal charter to their respective pro-



prietors. Then, and not before, the northern and southern boundaries of Virginia became defined. And so with the western boundary of Connecticut, which was at first unlimited. It was defined the year after by the grant to the Duke of York. We may say the same of the western limits of Carolina, which at first extended to the South Sea, or indefinitely. They were afterwards defined by the Georgia charter. If it was not the understanding from the beginning, that these western limits were considered indefinite, and left to the future decision of the crown, how is it to be accounted for, that encroachments were suffered thus to be made without a single remonstrance, or complaint from the states, or colonies, thus encroached upon?

From these views we are convinced, that, before the revolutionary war, no state had any claims to lands beyond its chartered limits, and that no fair construction of any charter could extend these limits into the lands northwest of the Ohio. These were residuary lands, neither subject to the control of any proprietary, nor chartered colony, nor any of the colonial crown governments, but wholly, and exclusively, at the disposal of the king. For the same reason, after the revolution, they belonged to the United States. In regard to Georgia, although it was bounded by the "South Seas" on the west, nevertheless, all the territory west of the Mississippi belonged at that time to the French. And whatever question of territory might arise, this state could exhibit no exclusive claims on the strength of its charter; because, twenty years after the charter was given, it was surrendered to the king, and the government became entirely regal. The claims of North Carolina were less incumbered, as its western limits

had not been defined by any charter subsequent to its own. The United States, however, had the same power to define these limits, as the king had before the revolution, and which, as we have seen, he exercised in numerous instances.

The question concerning the lands, involved in these claims, began to be agitated soon after the declaration of independence. The claims of particular states were considered unjust and unfounded by those states, which had no part in these claims. It was contended, that the right of property in these lands was secured by the common efforts, and the common sacrifices of all the states, and that justice demanded they should be appropriated for the equal benefit of all. The state of Maryland, in particular, was very prompt and decided on this subject.

"This state," says Mr. Maxcy, "as early as the 30th of October 1776, expressed its decided opinion, in relation to the vacant lands, by an unanimous resolution of the convention, which framed our constitution, and form of government, in the following words; 'Resolved *unanimously*, that it is the opinion of this convention, that the very extensive claim of the state of Virginia to the back lands hath no foundation in justice, and that if the same, or any like claim is admitted, the freedom of the smaller states and the liberties of America may be thereby greatly endangered; this convention being firmly persuaded, that, if the dominion over those lands should be established by the blood and treasure of the United States, such lands ought to be considered as a common stock, to be parcelled out at proper times into convenient, free, and independent governments.'

"In the years 1777 and 1778, the General Assembly, by resolves, and instructions to their delegates in Con-

gress, expressed their sentiments in support of their claim to a participation in these lands, in still stronger language, and declined acceding to the confederation, on account of the refusal of the states claiming them *exclusively* to cede them to the United States. They continued to decline, on the same grounds, until 1781, when to prevent the injurious impression, that dissension existed among the states occasioned by the refusal of Maryland to join the confederation, they authorized their delegates in Congress to subscribe the articles; protesting, however, at the same time, against the inference, which might otherwise have been drawn, that Maryland had relinquished its claim to a participation in the western lands."

The Maryland resolution was probably in unison with the prevailing sentiments and feelings of the other states. But nothing decisive was done till after the treaty of peace in 1783. By this treaty Great Britain relinquished "to the United States all claim to the government, property, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof." This established a new relation between the states. It gave strength and certainty to the bond of union, which had before been comparatively weak and dubious. They had not the same motives for clinging to individual interests, as when they were looking forward to a variety of possible results. The great object, for which they had been struggling, and in which they had merged all others, was at length gained. Their independence, and every political, civil, and religious right had been secured. The important question remaining was, how these privileges were to be converted to the most certain means of a permanent union and happiness? Policy and interest united with the best moral principles to

dictate the wisest course. The generous spirit of patriotism, and a disposition to conciliate, which must at this time have pervaded all parties, produced just impressions, and brought into harmony the views of those, who before acted on discordant principles, because they imagined themselves to have separate and conflicting interests. Influenced by motives like these, and perhaps by many others equally honourable, the respective states yielded up what they conceived to be their claims to the unsettled lands. These cessions were made at different times, and all, except that of Georgia, within a few years after the peace.

By these cessions, all the unappropriated lands, within the bounds of the United States, except such as belonged to the Indians, became the property of the United States, and were of course brought under the jurisdiction of the general government of the states. The result, therefore, was precisely the same as if no claims had been made, with this difference only, that some of the states gave up their claims with reservations and conditions. These the United States' government was bound to respect, whatever might have been the original validity of the claim; because receiving lands as a cession was acknowledging a previous right to those lands in the party which made the cession. Hence Connecticut reserved a valuable tract on the south shore of lake Erie, the proceeds of which have since been most wisely and munificently appropriated for the benefit of schools in that state. It was also made a condition of the cession by Georgia, that the United States should pay one million two hundred thousand dollars to that state, and extinguish the Indian title to such lands as were held by the Indians, within the reserved limits of the state. No attempt

was ever made to contest the claims of any of the states. They were all voluntarily given up, and in this amicable manner the United States have acquired an indubitable title to all the public lands on the east side of the Mississippi. The territory west of the Mississippi, as well as the southern parts of the states of Mississippi and Alabama, was purchased by the United States of France in 1803, and paid for out of the common fund. It hence follows, that all these lands are the common property of all the states collectively, and under the entire control of Congress.

As these lands are a common property, in which each state has an interest proportionate to its significance in the union, they ought to be so disposed of, as to confer a proportionate benefit on each. This is equally conformable to justice, and the fundamental principles of our federal union; and, moreover, this disposition of the lands was, with some of the states, a special condition of cession. This was particularly the case with Virginia, whose claim was considered much the most important. After specifying certain conditions, requiring the United States to reimburse the expenses, which Virginia had incurred in defending the territory, and also providing that the French inhabitants within the territory should have their possessions confirmed to them, the act of cession requires that all the lands, not included in other special conditions, "shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation, or federal alliance of the said states, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no

other use or purpose whatsoever." Here is an express stipulation, and it is the spirit of all the acts of cession. Now, as we have already observed, however defective the claims of any state were originally, when they were recognized, the United States were bound to comply with all conditions on which a title was resigned. These conditions, therefore, expressly on the part of Virginia, and impliedly on the part of the other states, afford an additional reason, if such a reason were required, why all the public lands obtained by cessions should be appropriated for the proportionate benefit of every section of the union. No argument is required to prove that all the lands, which have been purchased out of the national fund, should be disposed of by the same rule of appropriation.

We come next to inquire, whether Congress has uniformly acted upon this principle. Have the proceeds of the public lands been distributed in due proportion to every part of the union? Mr. Maxcy's remarks on this subject are pertinent and just.

"So far as these lands have been sold, and the proceeds been received into the national treasury, all the states have derived a justly proportionate benefit from them. So far as they have been appropriated for purposes of defence, there is no ground for complaint; for the defence of every part of the country is a common concern. So far, in a word, as the proceeds have been applied to NATIONAL, and not to STATE purposes, although the expenditure may have been local, the course of the general government has been consonant to the principles and spirit of the federal constitution. But so far as appropriations have been made, in favor of any state or states, to the exclusion of the rest, where the appropriations would have been beneficial, and

might have been extended to all alike, your committee conceive there has been a departure from that line of policy, which impartial justice, so essential to the peace, harmony, and stability of the union, imperiously prescribes."

In discussing this subject, it is important to keep in mind some definite notions of the distinction between NATIONAL, and STATE interests. In one sense they are the same. Whatever may be said, with strict truth, to be beneficial to the nation, may be considered in some degree beneficial to each part, inasmuch as the safety of a part depends on the stability and welfare of the whole. But, on the other hand, it is very possible for the whole to be benefitted at the expense of a part; so that the United States may be gaining strength and prosperity, while an individual state is losing its comparative standing and influence. In all such cases some of the states are increasing beyond their due proportion. This consequence may sometimes happen to a certain degree, from the nature of our political and local relations; and for this reason, it is a consequence, against which it is the duty of Congress to guard with very great vigilance. So far as it depends on the structure of the state governments, the nature and productiveness of the soil, the institutions and occupations of the people, or any thing peculiar to place or condition, it can hardly come under the control of Congress. And as all these circumstances will have a very active influence in moulding the character, and deciding the comparative importance, prosperity, and happiness of individual states, it becomes so much the more necessary, that in all those things, in which Congress has the power of be-

stowing benefits, this duty should be discharged with the strictest impartiality.

The defence of the country, and the protection and encouragement of commerce, are a common cause, and whatever appropriations are made for these purposes may be considered as promoting *national* interests. By these, every state is benefitted alike, because the rights of each are equally secured, and the expenses of each for the support of the general government are proportionally paid. *State* interests are such as relate to all kinds of internal improvements, agriculture, manufactures, encouragement of industry, science, literature, the arts, or useful inventions. To promote any of these purposes, no appropriation can justly be granted to any state, or section of the union, without an equivalent, either in kind or value, to *every other* state, or section. This is a fundamental principle, which should not be violated to the injury of any state, even if such violation were to produce a large *national* benefit; for this principle is the only security of the *state* interests. Congress may, and ought, to afford encouragement to all the purposes here enumerated, but never for the benefit of the whole, or a part, to the manifest injury of another part. If it can be allowed that, on any possible occasion, a majority of Congress may vote away the privileges of an individual state for the general good, it will virtually dissolve the ties which bind the states together, by destroying the object for which a union is desirable. Each state has rights, privileges, and concerns, peculiar to itself, which it is as important should be maintained, as those which it enjoys in common with the other states. If extreme cases can be imagined, in which the principle here stated cannot easily be reduced to practice,



yet the *principle* should be held sacred, and never be deserted without an obvious necessity, or as a temporary and pressing expedient. By this principle it is proper to try the proceedings of Congress in regard to the plan, which has been pursued in disposing of the public lands.

Before any of the states had relinquished their claims, it was urged by those, who did not hold these claims to be good, that a portion of the public lands should be converted into the means of defraying the expenses of the war, in which all were taking an equal part. New York was the first state which resigned its claims, and in the preamble to the act giving power to its delegates in Congress to make the cession, it is stated, apparently as a motive, that it "had been conceived, that a portion of the waste and uncultivated territory, within the limits or claims of certain states, ought to be appropriated as a common fund for the expenses of the war." And this is the purpose for which the revenue derived from the sales of these lands has been applied by Congress. Acts have been passed at different times to facilitate this object; and the whole amount of proceeds arising from these sales is now pledged for the gradual payment of the public debt, till it shall be extinguished. This scheme is no doubt equitable. It operates equally in favor of all the states. It consults the national interests, without interfering with those which are peculiar to any of the states.

But another system adopted by Congress for disposing of the public lands, is that first proposed in the ordinance of May 20, 1785, and which has since received several modifications. This is the system, which is thought to be partial in its action, by granting pri-

privileges and property out of the common stock, to some of the states, which are not granted to others. The outlines of the plan may be detailed in few words.

All the public lands are surveyed according to the laws and directions of Congress. They are uniformly divided into townships of six miles square, by lines running with the cardinal points, and consequently crossing each other at right angles. Every township is divided into thirty-six sections, each a mile square, and containing six hundred and forty acres. One section in each township is reserved, and given in perpetuity, for the benefit of common schools within that township. Thus one thirty-sixth part of all the public lands is appropriated for the benefit of particular states in aiding common schools. In addition to this, the state of Tennessee has received a grant of two hundred thousand acres for the support of colleges and academies. For the same purpose, also, two entire townships have been granted to Ohio. The appropriations generally, in the new states, for seminaries of the higher order, according to Mr. Maxcy's statement, amount to about *one fifth* of those for common schools.

Starting with these facts, Mr. Maxcy goes into a calculation to ascertain what quantity of land, according to this system, will be taken from the common property of the United States for the use and benefit of those states only, which have been, or will be formed in the territory not embraced in the old states. As the basis of his calculation he takes the estimates contained in Seybert's Statistical Annals. From these it would appear, that the states and territories on the east side of the Mississippi, in which appropriations have been made, amount to 237,297,125 acres. And according to the ratio above mentioned, the aggregate

number of acres actually appropriated on the east side of the Mississippi is 7,909,903.

Seybert also estimates the lands purchased of France in 1803 at 200,000,000 acres. The same system of appropriation will no doubt be applied on the west, as on the east side of the Mississippi. This will make for schools and colleges 6,666,666 acres. And the total appropriations for literary purposes in the new states and territories will be 14,576,569 acres. At two dollars an acre, which is lower than the average price at which the public lands have thus far been sold, the value of these appropriated lands will amount in money to \$29,153,139. Such is the immense amount of property, which, according to the system now pursued by Congress, will be taken from the common stock for the encouragement of learning in particular sections.

This is too plain a case to need any reasonings or illustrations to show that the system, in its present restricted operations, does not extend equal privileges to all parts of the union. Its justice can only be made to appear by proving, that the states which do not participate in these grants, have, in some other way, received an equivalent. But this cannot be proved. They certainly have not received any equivalent in land, for no appropriations of lands have been made for their benefit, as in the other states. Nor have they received any equivalent in value from other sources. In short, the old states neither have received, nor can receive, any benefit whatever from these appropriations, farther than they are the means of advancing the general interest of the United States. But this is a benefit, which the new states enjoy equally with the old, and this too in addition to the full value of all the

lands granted for schools. To produce an equality, even on this principle of all the states being benefitted by these grants, the same appropriations must be made to the other states: not by taking any thing away from the new states, but by giving to the others, out of the lands which still remain, a quantity proportionate to what these have received.

This view of the subject reflects no censure on Congress for the course they have pursued in disposing of the public lands. On the contrary, every friend to enlightened improvement must consider it as dictated by sound policy, wisdom, and benevolence. The system is by no means partial in *principle*, nor necessarily so in application. It has happened, for what reason it is not our present purpose to inquire, that it has not as yet been applied in its full extent. This can now be done with perfect consistency, and without interfering in the remotest degree with any of its former applications, or the consequences resulting from them. Not a single act of Congress would need be repealed, nor would a single alteration be required in the machinery of the land department. No request is made to Congress to retrace steps before taken, but to go forward and finish the work that has been begun.

The constitution delegates to Congress an absolute control over the territories, and all the public lands of the United States; but, at the same time, it takes care to circumscribe this control within due limits, by adding the following clause, namely, "and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, *or of any particular state.*" Now the system by which the public lands are disposed of, in its present restricted application, does prejudice the claims of particular states, because each state has

an equal claim to a proportional share of the common property of the whole. Each state, therefore, not enjoying a privilege which has been granted to others, has a constitutional claim on the United States for this privilege, and a right to demand it of Congress. That one, or any number of states, has forbore to make this demand, is no proof that the claim is annulled, or even weakened. The claim receives its validity from the constitution itself, and must continue good, while the constitution remains in force. It hence follows, that the acquiescence of the old states in the partial operation of this system till the present time, is no evidence that their claim has been relinquished, or that it is not in all respects as strong as if they had urged it sooner.

Nor ought any preference to be given to particular states, in making donations of lands, from the circumstance of these lands being within the limits of those states. Wherever they are situated, they are common property, in which every citizen of the United States has an interest. Although they are within the jurisdictional limits of a state, they cannot be taxed by that state, nor be made subject to any state laws respecting sales or titles. These things are wholly regulated by the laws of Congress, in the same manner as with lands in a territory not yet formed into a state. In regard to the justice of the principle, Congress might with as much propriety grant lands in the western territory for the purposes of education in an eastern state, as a western. In either case, it is public property given to a particular state, or, in other words, it is the property of the nation devoted, not to *national*, but to *state* purposes.

We are speaking here of the *justice of the principle*, without pretending that circumstances may not occur in which sound policy would justify, within a limited extent, an unequal distribution of public property. But under no circumstances, we apprehend, can this be done, without a corresponding benefit of some sort to all the states, and as nearly equivalent as the nature of the case will admit. Now we contend, that no such circumstances as those above mentioned are connected with the appropriations, which have already been made for the encouragement and support of education in the western states. No good reason can be shown, why one state should be preferred to another in making this distribution. The revenue derived from commerce is public property, and on the same footing, in this respect, as the public lands. This revenue is chiefly collected in the commercial, or Atlantic states. And this affords just as good an argument in favor of giving a portion of this revenue for the particular benefit of the states in that section, as the circumstance of the public lands being in the west does, that they should be converted to a local advantage in that quarter. The fact, that this revenue is ultimately derived, not from the Atlantic states, but from all the states in which the articles of commerce are consumed, does not alter the case. The public lands have been derived in the same manner; that is, from the common treasure, and united efforts of all the states.

The facts we have thus brought forward, and the view we have taken, conduct us to the following results. First, none of the states originally had any valid claims to the lands, which have since been made over by formal cessions to the United States. They were national possessions from the beginning. But when the United

States consented to accept them as lands of cession, it was virtually acknowledging the claims to be just, and bringing themselves under an obligation rigidly to comply with any conditions attached to the articles of cession. Secondly, the principles of justice, and the letter and spirit of the constitution require, that the public property should be appropriated for the equal benefit of all the states. Thirdly, the system followed in disposing of the western lands has not operated equally, but has favored some states more than others. Fourthly, it is not only a constitutional right, but the duty of the states, which have thus been neglected, to petition Congress for an equal extension of privileges.

To some of the positions, which we have attempted to establish, objections have been made, especially in the Report of the committee of public lands in the Senate of the United States, and in the Report respecting the Maryland resolutions in the Legislature of New York. To these objections we now proceed briefly to reply.

It has been said, that the other states have actually received an adequate consideration for the lands appropriated for schools in the west. The money, which has accrued to the national treasury, by the increased value of the public lands, is thought to be a compensation. This was stated in the Report to the Senate of the United States, and more at large by Mr. Verplanck in the New York Report. He speaks as follows.

“Reservations of school and college lots are upon a large scale, what the reservations of public squares and walks, of lots for churches, markets, and public edifices are in the plans of cities and villages. They are not gratuitously bestowed upon the inhabitants;

nor is their value lost. But on the contrary, they tend to increase their aggregate value far beyond their own proportion, and their price is far more than paid in part of the purchase money of every private sale."

Such, Mr. Verplanck thinks, has been the effect of the western grants.

"They have induced a readier sale, a higher price, and from the character of those settlers, who would be most attracted by these prospects, a more prompt payment. The reservations complained of ought, therefore, to be regarded, not as a partial donation for local objects, entitling every state to similar ones on principles of strict justice, but as a judicious arrangement, calculated and intended to increase the value of that 'common fund, held for the use and benefit of the several states,' and made not for state, but for national purposes."

This argument had already been anticipated by Mr. Maxcy, and answered in a manner so lucid, forcible, and conclusive, that we are surprised to find it repeated by the New York committee, without any reply to the reasonings contained in the Maryland Report.

"Your committee are aware," says Mr. Maxcy, "that it has been said, that the appropriation of a part of the public lands to the purposes of education, for the benefit of the states formed out of them, has had the effect of raising the value of the residue, by inducing emigrants to settle upon them. Although in the preambles of such of the acts on this subject, as have preambles, the promotion of religion, morality, and knowledge, as necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, have been assigned as the reason for passing them, and no mention has been made of the consequent increase in the value of the lands, that



would remain, as a motive for the appropriation, yet the knowledge, that provision had been made for the education of children in the west, though other motives usually influence emigrants, might have had its weight in inducing some to leave their native homes. If such has been the effect, the value of the residue of the lands has no doubt been increased by it. This increase of value, however, has not been an *exclusive* benefit to the Atlantic states, but a benefit *common* to all the states, eastern and western; while the latter still enjoy *exclusively* the advantage, derived from the appropriations of land for literary purposes. The incidental advantage of the increase in value of the public lands, in consequence of emigration, if it is to be considered in the light of a compensation to the old states, must be shown to be an advantage *exclusively* enjoyed by them. That this however is not the case is perfectly obvious, because the proceeds of the lands, thus raised in value by emigration, when sold, go into the United States treasury, and are applied, like other revenues, to the *general* benefit; in other words, to NATIONAL and not to STATE purposes.

"It is moreover most clear, that this increase of the value of lands in consequence of emigration, produces a peculiar benefit to the inhabitants of the new states, in which the inhabitants of the other states, unless owners of land in the new, have no participation. This benefit consists in the increase of the value of their own private property.

"On the other hand, it is undoubtedly true, that emigration is injurious to the Atlantic states, and to them alone. While it has had the effect of raising the price of lands in the west, it has, in an equal ratio at least and probably in a much greater, prevented the in-

crease of the value of lands in the states which the emigrants have left. It is an indisputable principle in political economy, that the price of every object of purchase, whether land or personal property, depends upon the relation, which supply bears to demand. The demand for land would have been the same, or very nearly so, for the same number of people, as are contained within the present limits of the United States, if they had been confined within the limits of the Atlantic states. But the supply in that case would have been most materially different. It must have been so small in proportion to the demand, as to occasion a great rise in the value of land in the Atlantic states; for it cannot be doubted, that it is the inexhaustible supply of cheap and good land in the west, which has kept down the price of land on the eastern side of the Allegany. If the Atlantic states had been governed by an exclusive, local, and selfish policy, every impediment would have been thrown in the way of emigration, which has constantly and uniformly operated to prevent the growth of their numbers, wealth, and power; for which disadvantage the *appreciation* of their interest in the public lands, consequent upon emigration, can afford no adequate compensation. It appearing then perfectly clear to your committee, that emigration is exclusively advantageous to the new states, whose population, wealth, and power are thereby increased at the expense of those states, which the emigrants abandon, the inducement to emigration furnished by the appropriation of public lands for the purposes of education in the west, instead of affording a reason for confining such appropriations to that quarter of the union, offers the most weighty considerations of

both justice and policy, in favor of extending them to the states, which have not yet obtained them."

This reasoning seems to us legitimate and unanswerable. The argument itself, which proves the United States to have received a benefit by reason of the inducements held out in the west to emigration, is as powerful evidence as can be had of the unequal operation of the system. The value of the lands has been increased, it is true, and the national treasury has become richer. But how has this been done? By exhausting the Atlantic states. Just in proportion as extraordinary encouragements have been offered to induce the people of these states to emigrate to the west,—just in this proportion, have the states suffered, by losing a part of their population and wealth, and by being made to hold a lower comparative rank in the union. This consideration strengthens the claims of these states. If they had been in no manner affected by the donations in the west, they would still be entitled to similar donations. And since it appears that this enhanced value of the public lands, which, as a national benefit, is thought to be a balance to the privileges enjoyed in the west, has actually been produced at their expense, it is certainly a very strange mode of reasoning to argue, not only that their claim is annulled, but that they have been compensated for their loss. Such compensation as they have received, has been taken from their own pockets.

If the Atlantic states were becoming overburdened with inhabitants, it might be considered a just and benevolent act in the general government to offer extraordinary inducements to allure some of them away. A national good might thus be realized, without injury to any state. But a century at least would elapse, before

the population of any state in the union could become too numerous for ample support from their native soil. By drawing them away, a check is given to the growth of those principles, virtues, and habits, which multiply and extend the comforts of civilized life, which give stability to the social compact, ascendancy to the intellect, dignity to character, courtesy to manners, refinement to taste, and rational, pure, and elevated enjoyment to existence. All the blessings, which it is easy to perceive would thus grow up in the old states, they must lose, by losing their population. Their political influence in the union is also weakened, by diminishing the weight of their representation in the national legislature. Finally, the argument adduced by the New York committee sustains a position directly contrary to the one they advance. Instead of proving the Atlantic states to have no claims, it proves very clearly, that in strict justice, they may not only ask to be put on an equal footing with the western states in regard to schools, but also to be compensated for the loss they have suffered in contributing so largely, and at the expense of sacrifices so dear, to raise the value of the public lands, and thus to swell the amount of the national treasury. The benefit resulting from this accumulation of property is enjoyed by all the states equally. The New York committee acknowledge, that this benefit has sprung out of the emigration from the Atlantic states, and yet very unaccountably make this benefit a reason, why these states should not even be allowed an equal participation of those privileges, which have been the primary cause of the losses they have sustained in promoting the interests of the nation.

A second objection is expressed by the New York committee in the following words;

"It is surely of the deepest interest to the welfare, the peace, and good order of the whole union, that the states every day springing up in the west, should not hereafter be peopled by a race, possessing nothing of civilization, but its vices and its arts of destruction. This might not, indeed, have been the necessary consequence, had the general government neglected to make provision for the diffusion of knowledge among the future population of this great territory, but it is clearly so much within the bounds of probability, as to authorize, and even to require a prudent and wise government to guard against so dangerous a contingency, not only for the sake of those immediately interested, but for the promotion of the best interests of the whole nation."

The force of this argument we confess ourselves unable to discover. It seems to us little more than a speculation, which no experience nor sound reasoning can substantiate. What is the fact in regard to the states, which have grown up from a wilderness without any such provision for schools? Is it true, that they are "peopled by a race, possessing nothing of civilization, but its vices and its arts of destruction?" We think not. Why then fear this consequence in the west? Or even admitting it may be feared in a remote degree, on what principles of equity is one section of the country to suffer a deprivation of its own means of improvement and happiness, for the exclusive benefit of another? And, moreover, the western appropriations are to be a permanent fund. They are not to operate only till the settlers become civilized and enlightened, and then to cease. But when these states shall arrive at the point of civilization, which now prevails in the old, they will still have this accumulating fund to help

them forward, while the others will have nothing. A weight is thus thrown into the scale against the old states, which is daily growing heavier, and which they have nothing, either at present or in prospect, to counterbalance.

It is further objected, that,

“If the large additional grants for the encouragement of education, insisted on by Maryland, should now be made, a direct and obvious effect would be to diminish the fund, so important to the national interests, by placing immense tracts of lands in other hands, and enabling the individual states to undersell the general government, whenever they should think fit, and materially to retard or to lessen the sales.”

A plain answer to this objection will occur, on reverting to the *object* of the Maryland Report. Nothing more is there urged, than the justice of the *principle*, that all the states have a right to equal advantages from the public lands; and the *fact*, that all have not been thus favored. The objection before us has no bearing on these points. That the general fund of the union will be diminished is no reason, why the just claims of individual states should be rejected. Besides, the Maryland Report proposes no particular mode of answering these claims. Congress has full power to guard against the inconveniences apprehended, and to remedy every evil, by keeping the lands within its own control, by regulating the time of sale, and by fixing a price, under which the states shall not be allowed to sell. Many other modes of settling all difficulty from this source will readily suggest themselves. That obstacles are to be encountered, or sacrifices made, in doing justice, is certainly no argument,

that justice should not be done. Let the mode be left to the wisdom of Congress.

The amount of the claims has been considered as another objection. But Mr. Maxcy has shown, that instead of being large, it is comparatively small. If the same ratio of appropriation be followed, which has thus far been observed, the number of acres requisite to do justice to the old states will be 9,370,760, which is less than has already been granted to the new states, and little more than two acres out of a hundred of all the public lands unsold. That is to say, the sixteen states, which have not received any grants, comprising Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky, these sixteen states do not require so much land for their just proportion, as has already been granted to the states and territories in the west. The notion of the alarming magnitude of the claim therefore is not correct; and if it were, it would add to the reasonableness of its being equitably adjusted. It would truly be a novel proceeding, for a man to refuse paying his just debts, because they were so large.

The Committee of the Senate of the United States admit the ground taken in the Maryland Report to be well supported, as far as the principle is concerned, and think it *expedient* to grant something out of the sales of the public lands for the aid of schools in the old states. Two or three statements, however, in their report, appear to us to admit correction.

"The lands," say they, "thus granted to the states for the above purposes are not subject to taxation by the state government, and can only be settled in the

manner pointed out by the states in which they lie. If, therefore, correspondent quantities for the purposes of education are to be granted to all the old states, (under which term the committee believe all states will be included, which have not received donations of land for that purpose,) it would seem, that the states and territories, which now contain public land, *would have an excessive proportion of their superficies taken up with such donations, leaving but a small part of the land in each subject to taxation, or settlement, except at the will of other sovereign states."*

This we take to be a distorted view of the subject, and hold the apprehensions expressed in the last clause of the paragraph to be quite gratuitous. In the first place, it ought not to be taken for granted, that the lands, which are required for the old states, are to be disposed of in the same way, or to be subject to the same conditions, as those already appropriated. Nothing of this nature is contemplated in the Maryland Report. Every thing relating to conditions and modes of conveyance is left to congress, with the expectation, of course, that such a plan will be pursued, as will operate with perfect equity towards the new states. And in the next place, there is no occasion for the alarm, which the committee express, in regard to the quantity of land, which may be taken from any particular state. By the estimate attached to their own Report, the quantity of public lands in each of the new states, except Ohio, is nearly three times as much as the whole amount required for the old states. Let this quantity be divided among all the states, in which the public lands are situated, and the evil apprehended in the Report will be very trifling, even in its fullest ex-



tent, and upon the false supposition, that it must necessarily exist at all.

Again, the Committee of the Senate of the United States observe,

“The lands, therefore, granted to some of the new states for the purposes of education, though distinguished in common parlance by the name of donations, were in fact sales bottomed upon valuable considerations; in which the new states surrendered their *right* of sovereignty over the remaining public lands, and gave up the whole amount, which might have been received in taxes, before such lands were sold, and for five years thereafter.”

The fallacy of this notion will immediately be discovered on reflecting, that the new states *never had any right of sovereignty* over the public lands, and consequently could surrender none. It has been justly observed by an able writer, that “as Congress possesses, in absolute dominion, the whole territory, before the creation of the new states, and *makes* those states, it is not to be understood how any *right* of sovereignty is relinquished by them.” The new state becomes such on conditions; one of which is, that it shall not tax the public lands within its limits. Nothing is given up, for nothing was held in possession. After the state is formed, then its *rights* are commensurate with the conditions, which it has accepted. But these conditions exclude all control over the public lands, and absolutely forbid any demands of an equivalent for what might have been derived from them, had the privilege of taxation been allowed. It is furthermore to be observed, that in no public act, relating to the new states, has it ever been intimated, that they received the grants for schools, as an equivalent for

any thing. No other motives have been assigned, or even implied, than the benevolent and disinterested ones of promoting education, morals, religion, civil order, and good government. Had any *right* existed on the part of the states, in the estimation of the general government, is it credible, that it would never have been recognized, or even alluded to, in the acts relating to the public lands, and especially the grants to the states?

We have thus adduced some of the general reasons, for an equal distribution of the public property for the encouragement and support of schools and colleges in all the United States; and endeavored to obviate, as we hope successfully, the principal objections, which have been started. It is hardly to be accounted for, that any objections should seriously be urged in a case of so much interest, importance, and obvious justice. If difficulties are thought to lie in the way, let them be removed by Congress, in such a manner as shall be conceived most judicious and effectual. But let not the apprehension of these difficulties blind our eyes to the perception of justice, tie up our hands, shut up our hearts, and disable us from making those efforts, which the cause of learning, and our national welfare, dignity, and honor, demand. It is at least a duty, which all the states, that have not received appropriations, owe to themselves and to future generations, to press the subject on Congress, and have their claims fairly and thoroughly investigated. Let this be done, and for ourselves we can have no doubt of the result.

Nor do we discover, that the view we have taken can operate in any degree against the best interests of the western states. To suppose them unwilling to allow the other states equal privileges with themselves,

would be a reflection on their magnanimity, generosity, and good principles, which is not to be admitted. They have, it is true, a proportional interest in the public property, out of which any grants to the old states must be made; but it is equally true, that these states once had an interest in the lands, which have already been granted to them. The committee of public lands propose, that a certain portion of the amount of sales shall be allowed to the several states, which have received no aid for schools. Now this fund belongs to all the states collectively, and whatsoever is taken out for the east will consequently be drawing something from the west. But there is no inequality in this. All the appropriations, which have been, or may be granted, once belonged to the common fund. They were to be distributed equally to all parts of the union. Some of the states have already received their portion, while it yet remains for the others to receive theirs. To us this appears a fair statement of the case. But should it be found, on a closer examination, that the proposed appropriations to the old states will give the new ones a claim to something more, let it be granted. We plead only for an equitable adjustment, on the most feasible terms.

Much might be said to enforce the policy of the measures, which we have been endeavoring to defend on the ground of equity. It was an admonition of the illustrious Washington, springing not more from wisdom and foresight, than the purest benevolence, that the states should vigilantly guard against any step, which should "furnish ground for characterizing parties by geographical distinctions." Is it not obvious, that the course thus far pursued by Congress must have this tendency? To favor one part of the union more than

another will necessarily excite sectional jealousies, sow the seeds of discord, and nourish a root of bitterness and discontent, inimical to peace, harmony and good government. The safety and happiness of the nation depend on the moral as well as the political union of the parts, a union of sentiment, feeling, and affection, founded on equal rights, privileges, and enjoyments. To preserve this union, every state must have the fullest confidence, that all its rights are respected, and all its just privileges granted.

There are, also, other considerations of great weight springing out of the importance of learning, especially in a government like ours, where the supreme control depends on the opinion of the people. Under such circumstances, how important is it, that this opinion should be enlightened? The representative body of the nation is drawn together from every part. Hence, it is requisite that the means of knowledge should be equally scattered, that the balance of advantages derived from this source may be preserved. "Without question," says Bacon, "there is no power on earth which sets up its throne in the spirit and souls of men, and in their hearts and imaginations, their assent also and belief, equal to learning and knowledge;" and again, "there is scarce one instance brought of a disastrous government, where learned men have been seated at the helm." Now the most certain mode of making learned rulers, is to extend as far as possible the influence of learning to the people from whom the rulers are taken.

But intelligence not only makes good rulers, it makes peaceable citizens. It causes men to have just views of the nature, value, and relations of things, the purposes of life, the tendency of actions, to be guided by

purser motives, to form nobler resolutions, and press forward to more desirable attainments. Knowledge smooths down the roughness, and tames the native ferocity of men. The maxim of the poet is true;

Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes,  
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

Laws will be obeyed, because they are understood and rightly estimated. Men will submit cheerfully to good government, and consult the peace of society, in proportion as they learn to respect themselves, and value their own character. These things are the fruit of knowledge. But ignorance is a soil, which gives exuberant growth to discords, delusions, and the dark treacheries of faction. Ignorance in the people, in fact, takes all security from the government. While ignorant, they are perpetually subject to false alarms and violent prejudices, ready to give a loose rein to the wild storms of their passions, and prepared to yield themselves willing victims to the seductions of every ambitious, turbulent, treacherous, and faithless spirit, who may choose to enlist them in his cause. Knowledge will work upon this charm with a potent efficacy, lay the hideous spectres which it calls up, and preserve the soundness and growing strength of the social and political fabric.

It should, furthermore, be considered the glory and the duty of our national legislature to aid in establishing morals and religion, both as a means of safety to the government, and happiness to the people. The first step in accomplishing this purpose, is to fix the principles of virtue, and impress the importance of religious practice, by enlarging the sphere of mental light, touching the springs of curiosity, opening the

channels of inquiry, and pouring into the mind new materials of thought and reflection. All branches of intellectual improvement will lead to moral goodness. The mind, which is taught to expatiate throughout the works of God, to ascend to the heavenly worlds and find him there, to go into the deep secrets of nature and find him there, to examine the wonders of its own structure, and look abroad into the moral constitution of things, and perceive the hand of an invisible, Almighty Being giving laws to the whole, will be impressed with a sense of its own dependence, and feel something of the kindling flame of devotion. It is not in human nature to resist it. And so the man, who begins to study the organization of society, the mutual relations and dependencies of its parts, its objects, and the duties it imposes on those, who would enjoy its benefits, will soon be made to respect its institutions, value its privileges, and practise the moral virtues in which its very existence consists. The more extensively these inquiries are encouraged, and these principles inculcated, in the elements of education, the greater will be the certainty of moral elevation of character, and the brighter the prospects of a virtuous and happy community. In regard to religion, ignorance is its deadliest bane. It gathers the clouds of prejudice from all the dark corners of the mind, and causes them to brood over the understanding, and too often the heart, with a dismal, chilling influence. It gives perpetuity to error, defies the weapons of argument and reason, and is impassive even to the keen sword of eternal truth. Religion requires the aid of knowledge to be received in its purity, and felt in its power. To bring into salutary action these two great instruments of human happiness, morals and religion.

nothing is of so much importance, as to multiply the facilities of education, and quicken the spirit of enlightened inquiry.

Through the medium of education the government may give a strong impulse to the arts, and help to build up the empire of the sciences. Before men can invent, or make profound discoveries, they must be taught to think. Savages never advance a step farther in discoveries and inventions, than they are compelled by their wants. The external comforts of civilized life depend on the useful arts, which an improved state of the intellect has brought to light. In the sciences, and in literature, we have a vast uncultivated field before us. We will not enlarge on so trite a subject, as the value of these noble branches of human improvement, nor on so obvious a one, as the immense advantages that must flow to us as a nation, from having them thoroughly cultivated among us. They ought to be brought under consideration in connexion with this subject; and on every mind, whose conceptions are not narrowed within the most ordinary bounds, they will have a solemn and impressive influence. In the arts of traffic, and the mysteries of gain, we may perhaps be contented with the skill we possess. But to be contented with our progress in the sciences and literature, and all those attainments, which chiefly dignify and adorn human nature, would argue an obtuseness and apathy altogether unworthy of a people, who are blessed with so many political, civil, and local advantages of various kinds, as the inhabitants of the United States.

In closing this article, we are glad to embrace the opportunity afforded us, by the subject we have been discussing, of saying a few words on the literary en-

terprize and efforts of the state, in which the Report, recommending a general appropriation for the aid of learning, originated. The legislature of Maryland gave early attention to the establishment of schools. At the session in 1692, an act was passed for the encouragement of learning; and four years afterwards King William's Free School was established at Annapolis, on a very broad and liberal basis. In 1723, a school was erected in each of the counties, and the funds, which had been provided by previous acts for the support of schools, were distributed among them in equal proportions. Lands were also given in each county for the use of the teachers. One source of income to the school fund was a tax of twenty shillings a poll on all negroes imported into the state, and also on all Irish servants who were papists, as the act says, "to prevent the growth of popery by the importation of too great a number of them into this province." In these county schools, such children as the visitors should select for the purpose were required to be taught gratis. This system, it would seem, was conducted with considerable success, and was aided from time to time by the patronage of the legislature.

The school at Chestertown, in Kent county, had become so flourishing in the year 1782, that the visitors petitioned the legislature to have it formed into a college. The petition was granted, and the institution took the name of Washington College. The number of students at the time of this change was one hundred and forty, and was soon after augmented to two hundred. Buildings were erected at the expense of ten thousand pounds taken from the funds, which had been procured by private subscriptions. The state granted an annual appropriation of twelve hundred and fifty



pounds. Two years after, another college was founded on a similar plan at Annapolis, called St. John's College, with which King William's School was incorporated. To this institution was made a yearly grant of seventeen hundred and fifty pounds. The same act, by which St. John's College was founded, authorized a union of this with Washington College, under the title of the University of Maryland.

The acts for founding and incorporating these institutions were drawn up with considerable ability, and they embrace many sound principles and just views. But they are marked with some radical defects. The system of government and discipline was one, under which no institution could long exist. Each college was under the direction of twenty-four visitors. These were required to assemble quarterly at the college to examine the students, hear appeals, decide on their conduct, and in general, to put the laws in execution. Thus all power was virtually taken out of the hands of the immediate officers, in whose hands alone it could be of any value in preserving necessary subordination, and enforcing wholesome rules of discipline. The students would not respect officers, who they knew had no authority, and from whose decision they might appeal on the most trivial occasion to a body of men, who could have no more than a very imperfect knowledge of the merits of the case, and who at best could be but ill qualified to judge. The circumstance of meeting so often, and entering into such details, must also have contributed rather to diminish, than strengthen the interest of the visitors themselves. In addition to these evils, the scheme of having a university composed of colleges in different sections of the state, we conceive to have been wholly impracticable. The two

bodies of visitors were united into one with a chancellor at its head. This body in its united capacity formed laws and regulations for the two colleges. But it is impossible, in the nature of things, that the interests of institutions so far separated could be precisely the same. Nor could they act in concert, or promote a unity of purpose. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising, that this university did not answer the expectations of the legislature, nor of the public. So much dissatisfaction at length prevailed, that in the year 1805, the state entirely withdrew its patronage. We have heard other reasons assigned, than those we have mentioned, such as the spirit of party, unfortunate choice of teachers, and local prejudices. These, no doubt, had some influence; but we are convinced, that no combination of fortunate circumstances could have remedied the evils at which we have hinted. Since the decision of the Dartmouth College question, it has been made a subject of debate, whether the proprietors of these colleges cannot regain their former privileges. It is urged, that many individuals made large donations, with the understanding, that the state was permanently pledged to continue the support at first granted. But it is so doubtful whether this point can be well sustained, that it is not likely any decided step will be taken.

Although the state was disappointed in the success of this institution, it did not slacken its exertions in aiding the cause of learning. Its funds were distributed more largely to the counties. In most of the counties, respectable academies have been established, which receive annually considerable sums out of the state treasury. Each county, we believe, is entitled to eight hundred dollars, and some receive more. There are instances in which two or more counties have united

their resources. Charlotte Hall School is supported in this way, and sustains a high rank. In addition to these grants for academies, nearly as much more is given for common schools. The whole amount of money annually expended by the state of Maryland for the purposes of education, exceeds twenty-five thousand dollars.\*

These details are enough to show, that the efforts of this state in advancing the interests of learning have been liberal, honorable, and worthy of the highest praise. It has afforded its patronage to several literary institutions, by loaning money, granting lotteries, and

\* The following are the annual donations, granted at present from the treasury of the state of Maryland for Academies in the different counties.

To Elkton Academy, . . . . .	Dolls. 300
Washington Academy. . . . .	800
Talbot Academy, . . . . .	800
Charlotte Hall School, . . . . .	2000
Frederick County School, . . . . .	800
Garrison Forrest Academy, . . . . .	400
Franklin Academy, . . . . .	400
Allegany County School, . . . . .	500
Centre Ville Academy, . . . . .	800
Rockville Academy, . . . . .	800
Hagers-Town Academy, . . . . .	800
Cambridge Academy, . . . . .	500
Hillsborough School, . . . . .	500
West Nottingham Academy, . . . . .	500
St. John's College, . . . . .	1000
Washington College, . . . . .	800
Harford County Academy, . . . . .	500

Dolls. 12,900

In addition to these grants from the state treasury, the Banks of Maryland have been required since the 1st of January 1815, to pay twenty cents on every hundred dollars of their capital for the support of common schools. This money is paid to commissioners of the School Fund, who are appointed in each county, and in the city of Baltimore.

The Bank capital in the state may be estimated at 7,500,000 dollars, and the annual amount for schools derived from this source, according to the above ratio, is . . . . . Dollars. 15,000

Add the amount paid out of the state Treasury, 12,900

Dolls. 27,900

other facilities. To Baltimore College it granted a lottery, which was to yield thirty thousand dollars. In 1807, the Medical College was founded in Baltimore, with the privilege of raising forty thousand dollars by lottery; and in 1812, the charter was extended to embrace all the departments of science and literature, with a privilege subsequently granted of raising one hundred thousand dollars more. The institution, with this extension of its charter, is called the University of Maryland. It consists of four faculties, namely, divinity, law, medicine, and the arts and sciences; and is under the control of twenty-eight regents. To obtain a degree, students are required to be examined in the presence of the regents; and no one can be considered a candidate for the degree of bachelor of arts, till he has attended lectures in the university for the space of two years, nor for the degree of master of arts, till he has attended the same for three years. The medical department is the only one, which has yet gone into full operation. As a medical school, this is believed to be little inferior to any in the country, and is daily rising in reputation. The college building is beautiful and spacious, and the lecture rooms remarkably commodious. The chemical apparatus is considered equal, if not superior, to any in the United States. During the last session of the legislature, a loan was granted to the University of Maryland, and it is hoped, that all

Hence it appears, that the state pays annually *twenty seven thousand two hundred dollars* for the support of Colleges, Academies, and Schools.

The distribution of the money derived from the Banks is peculiar;—it is divided into equal portions among the nineteen counties, although the population of some of the counties is five times as large as that of others. And the fund appropriated for the county of Baltimore is divided equally between the city and the county, although the population of the city is nearly double that of the county.

the departments will before long be brought at least into partial operation. The professor of divinity, Rev. Dr. Wyatt, has given a few lectures, but no regular course. The professor of law, Mr. Hoffman, is preparing a course of lectures, which, if we may judge from the syllabus he has published, will do honor to the university, and justify the expectations, which have been raised by the favorable evidences of his talents and qualifications exhibited in his work on the study of the law.\*

St. Mary's College in Baltimore was empowered by the legislature in 1805 to admit students to degrees, and grant diplomas. This is a highly respectable institution, and has sent forth some of our first literary men. It is under the direction of the Catholics, but no religious test is required to enjoy its privileges, or obtain a degree. It is, indeed, a fact, which redounds much to the honor of the state, that in all its charters to literary institutions, from the time of its first acts, it is formally and explicitly stated, that no distinctions shall be made in favor of any religious sentiments, but that students, professors, visitors, and regents, shall be taken from all denominations and be admitted to equal privileges.†

\* See a review of Hoffman's Course of Legal Study, N. A. Review, vol. vi. p. 45.

† The following is the second section of the act founding the present University of Maryland; "The said University shall be founded and maintained for ever on the most liberal plan, for the benefit of students of every country and every religious denomination, who shall be freely admitted to equal privileges and advantages of education, and to all the honors of the University, according to their merit, without requiring or enforcing any civil or religious test, urging their attendance upon any particular plan of religious worship or service; nor shall any preference be given to the choice of a Provost, Professor, Lecturer, or other officer of said University, on account of his particular religious professions, but regard shall be solely had to his moral character, and other necessary qualifications to fill the place for which he shall be chosen."

It is a complaint, we believe, of most of the states at the south, which have made donations for the aid of schools and colleges, that the money has not produced so good and extensive effects, as was desired and reasonably expected. This subject deserves serious attention. We are confident, that the munificence of the state legislatures has been much greater than is generally imagined. A statement of the amount of donations in the several states, for a number of years past, and the manner in which they have been applied, would be a valuable document. It would afford a clue to the cause of failure in particular cases, and lay a foundation for a more judicious and beneficial management. We suspect the grounds of complaint may be traced to two sources; a deficiency of qualifications in the persons to whom the disposal of money is entrusted, and a want of proper care in selecting teachers.

Before we wholly close this article, we beg leave earnestly to recommend the principal subject of it to the attention of the American public at large, and individually of the state governments in our own neighborhood, who cannot, we think, acquit themselves of unfaithfulness to the interests of their constituents, if they do not imitate the laudable example of the legislature of Maryland, in pursuing so important and just a claim. We need not, any more than the Committee of the Senate of Maryland, the framers of the Report before us, disclaim the idea of looking with jealousy on the appropriations for education in the new states. We would sooner double than diminish them. But we must also be permitted to say, what experience, we believe, has already shown in some of these states, that the appropriations are likely, in the new states themselves, from hasty and injudicious application, and

the general immaturity of society, to be almost wholly unproductive of any permanent utility; while by extending them to the older states, where there are already flourishing establishments for education capable of forming a nucleus for farther increase, the greatest benefit and honor would result to our common country. In conclusion, we cannot but express our gratitude to the legislature of Maryland for the enterprise and perseverance with which they have brought forward and pursued this claim, and to the chairman of their committee, Mr. Maxcy, for the forcible and considerate form in which the Reports are drawn up.





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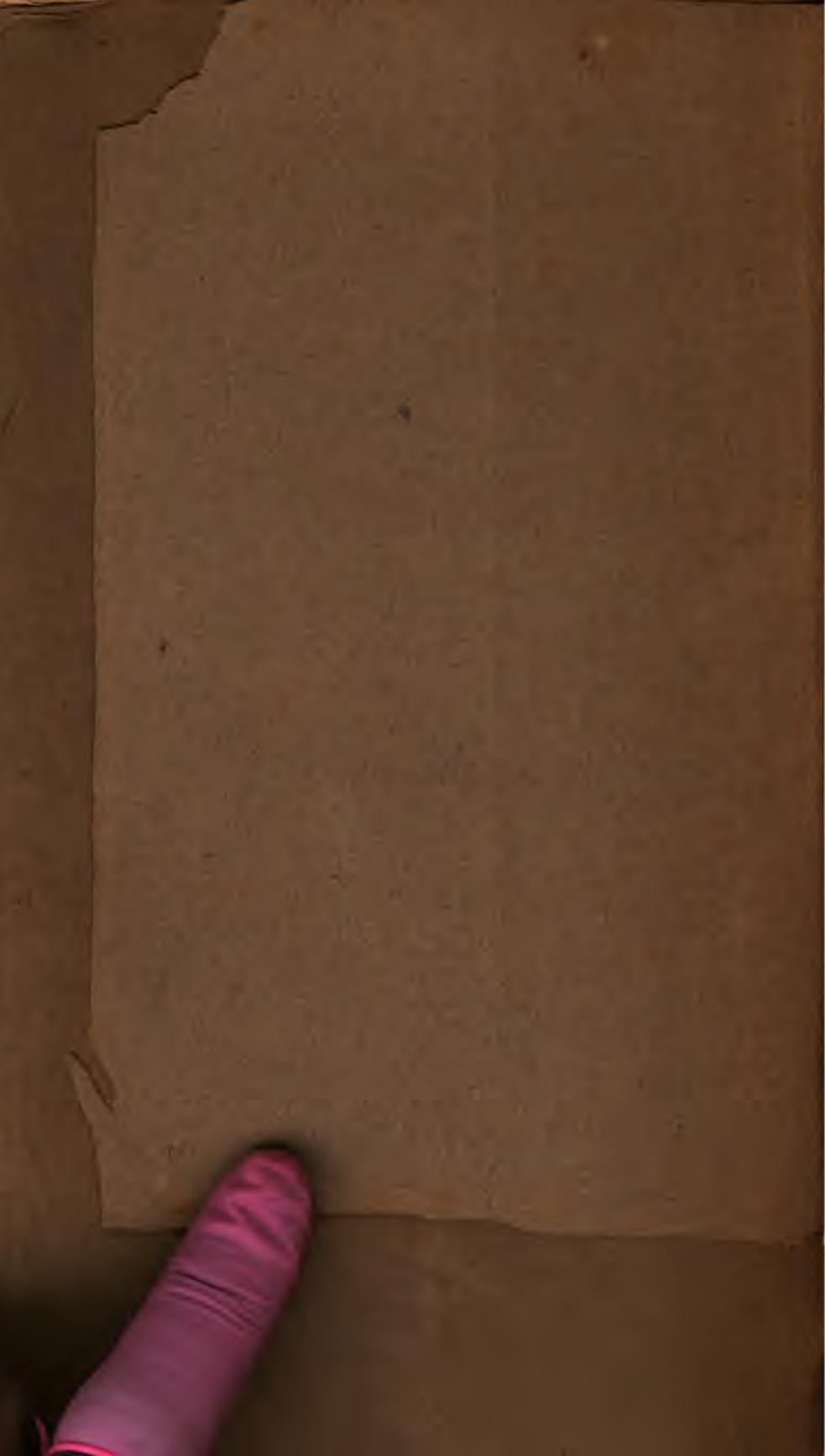
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MORAL TENDENCY  
OF  
**BELIEF**  
IN  
**THE TRINITY.**

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ON THE

**MORAL TENDENCY**

OF A

**BELIEF**

IN

**THE TRINITY.**

BEING THE

TENTH LETTER TO THE REV. SAMUEL MILLER D. D.

[From the Unitarian Miscellany.]

*By Jared Sparks.*

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## MORAL TENDENCY

OF A

## BELIEF IN THE TRINITY.

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SIR,

Although I have finished the examination of your Reply, I do not think proper to dismiss the subject, till I have considered two or three other points intimately connected with it, and which, in substance, if not in form, you have embraced. You started, as we have seen, with a loud and unqualified charge against the morals of unitarians. When you were met on this ground, and required to make your charge good, you dexterously changed your position without apology or explanation, and renewed your attack not on the *character*, but the *opinions* of the persons, against whom your assault had been directed. This, to be sure, was a virtual acknowledgement of the haste, and indiscretion, and want of wisdom, with which your first asseverations were hazarded, but it was hardly that open avowal of mistake, and of unconscious injury, which, in a case of so much importance, candour and the christian temper would seem to demand.

After releasing yourself with happy facility from this topic, which was the only one at first claiming discussion, the single object of your Reply was to draw as revolting a picture as possible of the immoral and irre-

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ligious tendency of the unitarian principles. When you found facts too stubborn to be moulded into such shapes as you desired, your sagacity was not long in discovering the convenience of going into the region of faith and opinion, where the road is more broad, and the license less restricted. To this point I have endeavoured to confine myself, as far as the subjects brought under discussion would admit. The tendency of the calvinistic doctrines, which were particularly specified in your Reply, has been examined, and compared with the tendency of the unitarian sentiments comprising similar objects. The same course I propose to pursue in regard to the *Trinity*, and the *Atonement*. To the former of these the present letter shall be devoted.

As the doctrine of the trinity embraces no moral precepts, nor immediate rules of action, its good or evil tendency must depend on the power it exerts in giving a tone and bias to the mind favourable or unfavourable to just notions of the Deity, to the reception of moral truth, a reverence for the known laws of God, a respect for the voice of conscience, and a habitual frame of piety and benevolence. It has a very remote bearing, if any at all, on the clearness and obligation of the preceptive and practical part of religion. Trinitarians and unitarians are equally convinced of the divine origin, and absolute truth of every thing which the Saviour taught; they equally consider all his ordinances and precepts as imposing commands, which must be implicitly obeyed. Hence it is, that neither a belief, nor disbelief of the doctrine has any tendency to diminish or strengthen the authority of the christian religion, as it relates to the necessity of obedience, repentance, reformation, and a holy life.

We are not hence to infer, that the trinity is an error of no consequence. All error is injurious. Of truth we can say with certainty, that it will always lead to good ends; error, on, the contrary, however innocent in itself, must be pernicious in its results. It cannot be doubted, that many christians have been good and pious with erroneous creeds, but it is a case equally indubitable, that they would have been better with true ones. The criminality, and the evil of error are very different things; a man is compelled to believe according to his convictions; he may be deceived; many evils may follow from this deception, but no crime can be attached, unless there has been a culpable indolence, or a perverted will; or some unhallowed purpose in forming opinions. A belief in the trinity involves no crime; its iniquity consists in its evil consequences; it obscures the perfections of the Deity, obstructs the current of devotional feeling, perplexes the humble inquirer after truth, and thus essentially impairs the means and motives of a rational worship, practical piety and vital godliness.

In attempting to trace out the tendency of the trinity, it is important to attain some definite notions of the doctrine itself; and here we shall be forced to encounter much difficulty at the very outset. It would be no easy task to enumerate the parties into which the advocates for this doctrine have been divided, from the time of its origin to the present day, and the opposing schemes which they have invented to bring it within the compass of the human faculties. They have not yet approached so near to a similarity of views as to agree in a definition. One of the heaviest censures affected to be passed by the orthodox on unitarians, is, that they

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do not agree in explaining their own opinions. Before this point is insisted on any further, we should be glad if trinitarians themselves would unite in some common explanation of the doctrine, which they profess to think the most important in religion; or at least show some good reason, why we are to reverence as a fundamental article of faith, a doctrine, which cannot be defined in scripture language, and which is confessed to be unintelligible, and inexplicable. The truth is, that no plan has been devised, which was not incumbered with so many insurmountable difficulties, that few minds could be induced to receive it in that shape. Hence plans have been multiplied, the powers of invention and combination have been put in requisition, till the theories of the trinity have become as numerous as the writers by whom it has been attempted to be explained.\*

\* The following extract from Sparks' Letters on the Protestant Episcopal Church, [p. 149] will illustrate the above remarks, and exhibit the views of some of the English writers, concerning the trinity.

"*First*, the Athanasians, among whom were Dr. Waterland, Dr. Taylor, and probably Archbishop Secker, from the encomium he passes on the Athanasian Creed, [Works, vol. vi. p. 126] maintain, that the trinity consists of three distinct, independent, and equal persons, constituting one and the same God; or, in other words, that 'the Father is Almighty, the Son is Almighty, the Holy Ghost is Almighty; and yet, there are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.'

"*Secondly*, according to Mr. How's theory, there are three distinct, intelligent hypostases, each having a distinct intelligent nature, united in some inexplicable manner, so as to make one God in somewhat the same way as the corporal, sensitive, and intellectual faculties are united to form one man.

"*Thirdly*, Dr. Wallis was an advocate for the Sabellian hypothesis; and held that the three persons in the trinity were only three *modes* or *relations*, which the Deity bears to his creatures. This, also, was probably the opinion of Archbishop Tillotson.

"*Fourthly*, Bishop Pearson supposed the Father to be an underived

Amidst this chaos of incertitude and variety, a few landmarks may be discerned, which seem to have served as common guides; and the numerous schemes to which the prolific invention of theologians has given birth, may all be arranged, perhaps, without much violence, under two general ones, the *Sabellian*, and the *Tripersonal*. The former teaches a trinity of modes in the Deity, the latter a trinity of beings. The modalists have succeeded in establishing a trinity in name, and in destroying it in reality, for there is no more reason for

essence, and the Son to have received every thing by communication from God the Father. 'There can be but one person,' says he, 'originally of himself subsisting in that infinite Being, because a plurality of more persons, so subsisting, would necessarily infer a multiplicity of Gods.' The Son possessed the whole divine nature by *communication*, not by *participation*, and in such a way, that he was as really God, as the Father. See Bishop Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, Oxford. 1792, vol. 1. p. 157, 217. Bishop Bull and Dr. Owen adopted a similar theory.

"*Fifthly*, in the system of Dr. Thomas Burnet, the Father is a self-existing Being, the Son and Spirit are *dependent*; but so united, that divine perfections and worship may be ascribed to each.

"*Sixthly*, Mr. Baxter defines the three divine persons to be *wisdom, power, and love*; and illustrates his meaning by the *vital power, intellect, and will*, in the soul of man, and by *motion, light, and heat* in the sun. For this explanation he was indebted to the sharpened wits of the schoolmen.

"*Seventhly*, Bishop Burgess supposes the three *persons* of the Deity to make one God, but does not allow, that these persons are three *beings*. He makes out his position by the following syllogism. 'The Scriptures declare, that there is only one God; the same Scriptures declare, that there are three omnipresent *persons*; but there cannot be two omnipresent *beings*; therefore the three omnipresent persons can be only one God.' According to this hypothesis, the trinity is made up of three nouentities.

"*Eighthly*, Bishop Gastrell says, 'The three names of God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, must denote a three-fold difference, or distinction, belonging to God, but such as is consistent with the unity and simplicity of the divine nature; for each of these includes

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supposing the Deity to exist in three modes, than in three hundred. As neither the unity, nor the attributes of God, are affected by this system, it differs in no essential respect from unitarianism; its bearing is nearly the same on the object of worship, and means of piety.

Another general scheme, or rather a substitute for a scheme, has lately grown up, and gained much popularity. It is that which shrouds the trinity in a *mystery*. This is a last resort; it rejects the aid of reason, and throws an impenetrable veil of obscurity over revelation. It is, nevertheless, founded on a principle of universal

the *whole idea* of God and *something more*. So far as they express the nature of God, they all adequately and exactly signify the same. It is the additional signification, which makes all the distinction between them.' According to Bishop Gastrell, then, 'the Father includes the whole idea of God, and something more; the Son includes the whole idea of God, and something more; the Holy Ghost includes the whole idea of God, and something more; while altogether, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost make one entire God, and no more.' See Belsham's Reply to Dr. Moysey, London, 1819, p. 32.

"*Ninthly*, a scheme, which certainly vies with any other for novelty, is that lately advanced by Mr. Heber, in his Bampton Lectures. He has made the marvellous discovery, that the second and third persons in the trinity are no other than the angel Michael and Gabriel. It was the second person, who conversed with Moses on Mount Sinai; and the third person, who constituted the Jewish Shekinah. See Heber's Bampton Lectures, preached before the university of Oxford, 1815, sec. iv. p. 211, 228. To clear up this point, the lecturer levies most heavily upon the Jewish Rabbies, the Targums, the Mahometan Doctors, and the ancient Fathers. Appendix to sec. iv. p. 240—250.

"*Lastly*, I will mention only one scheme more, which is that of Dr. Sherlock. He says, 'The Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are as really distinct persons, as Peter, James, and John; each of which is God. We must allow each person to be a God.' These three infinite minds are distinguished, just as three created minds are, by self-consciousness; and by mutual consciousness, each person of these has the *whole*

application; whenever you are perplexed in any argument, or caught between the griping horns of a dilemma, you have only to cry out, *a mystery*; and your victory is accomplished; you are encased in an armour of adamant, and may exult with great composure over the weakness of your antagonist, who can wield no other weapons, than such as are supplied by common sense, reason, and plain truth. No one, it is presumed, ever put on this armour till he found these weapons inadequate to his purpose. A mystical revelation is a contradiction in terms; and a mystical trinity, whatever else it may mean, can never mean a revealed trinity. Just in proportion as you detect mysteries in the Gospel, or doctrines, which were professedly taught as revealed truths of the greatest importance, but not intended to be understood, just so far you will find reasons to distrust the divine authority of the religion of the Saviour, and to disrespect its author. What there is in a mystery especially conducive to morals and piety, must be left to the wisdom of the initiated to develop.

The kind of trinity, to which my future remarks will be directed, is that contained in the Confession of Faith, and which I conceive to approach nearer than either of the others to an undisguised exposition of the doctrine. "In the unity of the godhead, there be three persons of one substance, power, and eternity; God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost."\* As a general

wisdom, power, and goodness of the other two.' This scheme differs little from the Athanasian, except in being more clear and definite."

For a more full account of the above statements, see Doddridge's Lectures, P. vii. prop. 132.—Lindsey's Apology, p. 63.—Adams's Dictionary of Religions, p. 291.—Worcester's Trinitarian Review, No. I.—Reply to Moysey, p. 32. 123.—Rees' Cycl. Art. Trinity.

\* Confession of Faith, chap. ii. § 3.

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definition, this seems sufficiently clear. Every one, probably, who assents to it, has views peculiar to himself respecting the nature and relations of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, yet all suppose them to be three distinct beings, and that each being is God. It is no part of my present object to inquire how it could be brought to pass, that three beings, each of whom is God, could make one being, and one God; or how there could be three beings, each of whom is God, and not be three Gods. I am engaged with the tendency, and not with the truth, or consistency of this doctrine.\*

In the first place, the notion of the trinity destroys the simplicity of worship, and essentially weakens all the good effects, which we may expect to derive from a pure and spiritual devotion. If there be one precept in the Scriptures, more positive than any other, it is, that the undivided homage of men is due to ONE BEING, to the Supreme God alone. It was the command of our Saviour himself, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and *him only* shalt thou serve." "True worshippers," he tells us, "shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth."† We are to adore and reverence him as our Creator, to praise him as the source of all good, to love and thank him for his paternal care and kindness. As he is the sole author of all things, he is to receive our sole homage, submission, gratitude. In the dispensa-

\* Dr. South seriously discourses on the subject as follows. "That any one should be both father and son to the same person, produce himself, be cause and effect too, and so the copy give being to its original, seems at first sight so very strange and unaccountable, that were it not to be adored as a *mystery*, it would be exploded as a *contradiction*."—South's Sermons, vol. iii. p. 140, Lond. 1718.

† Matt. iv. 10.—John, iv. 23.



tions of providence, and in the christian religion, no feature is so striking, as that which manifests the existence of one supreme object of worship, one God of infinite perfections, who claims all our services.

How do we retain this great characteristic of our religion, in what respect do we obey the commands of Christ, when we make three objects of worship, when we lift up our voices in adoration and prayer to three separate beings, and address them each as the supreme, self-existent, independent God? When you offer prayers to God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, let it be admitted, that you do not consider them three Gods, although each is called God; you must, notwithstanding, have a notion of three distinct beings at the time of your devotions, and address them as such. You worship three Gods in form and imagination, that is, in reality, so far as your conceptions of the Deity present an object to the understanding.

You do not see God, and you must worship him under such properties, as you are able to conceive and combine to form his nature and character. If you have in your mind three separate beings, possessing each the same properties as the others, and address them as separate, equal beings, and under different titles, it is perfectly certain, that the nature of your worship, and its effects on the mind and character, will be precisely the same, as if you acknowledged yourself to be worshipping three Gods. From this kind of worship, two evils of no common magnitude follow; first, the crime of disobeying a divine command, in not acting the part of "true worshippers," who, our Saviour tells us, worship the FATHER; secondly, all the practical ill consequences, which flow from

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having three objects of religious worship instead of one.\*

Unitarians avoid these evils by adhering rigidly to simplicity and unity in their worship. With them, God is believed to be one being; they worship him in his undivided and infinitely perfect character; their love and gratitude, adoration and reverence, confidence and joy, all centre in him. They dare not ascribe to any other being the honours and glory, which the Scriptures every where command us to render to the Father. They adore his goodness for the means, which he has provided for our salvation through the instructions of his Son. They honour Christ as the appointed Saviour, whom God endowed in an eminent degree with the gifts of his spirit, with the strength of his power, with the light of his wisdom and truth; they feel towards him all the veneration, gratitude, and affection, which his heavenly office, his sublime instructions, his trials and sufferings justly demand; but they do not worship him as God, because the Scriptures teach, and reason verifies the truth, that there is but "ONE GOD, the FATHER," who requires our

\* The following extract is from the Litany used in the Episcopal Church.

"O God, the Father of Heaven, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.

"O God, the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.

"O God, the Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners.

"O holy, glorious, and blessed Trinity, three persons and one God, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners."

If we are to understand language in its common acceptation, the above extract inculcates the worship of four Gods. The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the Trinity, are here worshipped separately, and respectively under the title of God.

unceasing and undivided service. Jesus himself always prayed to the Father, and said to his disciples in terms which it would seem impossible to mistake, "in that day ye shall ask ME nothing; whatsoever ye shall ask the FATHER in my name, HE will give it you."\* Can you have a plainer declaration, that the Father *only* is to be worshipped? From views like the above, unitarians are strengthened in the belief that their system of faith is true, that it has greatly the advantage of the trinitarian scheme in securing a pure and scriptural worship, promoting love to God, and kindling the fervour of a steady piety.

Again, the trinitarian faith not only makes the Son equal with the Father, sharing the same glory, and entitled to the same homage and love, but actually raises him higher, and clothes him with a more adorable, lovely, and beneficent character. It is an important part of this system, that man, by transgression, was "bound over to the *wrath* of God, and curse of the law."† Under this state of wrath, the Father was resolved to have vengeance on his weak and offending children, and would not suffer his anger to be appeased except by the sacrifice of the Son, who offered himself a willing victim to temper the vindictive rage, which threatened destruction and torment to the whole human race. It is to the compassion and benevolence of the Son alone, that we are indebted for the mercy of God. We owe it not to the purpose of the Father, that we have not been consumed by his anger; the Son is the voluntary, the unassisted author of our rescue, and in this character is worthy of our supreme homage at the expense of every sentiment and feeling of love, gratitude, and reverence,

\* John xvi. 23.

† Confession of Faith, chap. vi. §6.

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to which God, acting the part of a Father, would be entitled. What good tendency on the practical morals and piety of christians do you discover in a doctrine, which blots out all the moral attributes of the Deity, makes him an angry, vindictive, and cruel being, and clothes another with the ensigns of his supremacy and perfection? What do you find in such a doctrine, which is calculated to quicken devotion, provoke to good works, establish charity, or to invigorate any of the christian virtues?

Moreover, the notion that Christ was God destroys the force of his example. One of the most encouraging assurances, that the precepts of the Gospel are suited to our nature, condition, and improvement, is exhibited in the conduct of Jesus. We read the history of his life, attend him amidst the perils he encountered, the sufferings he endured; we contemplate with admiration the immaculate purity of his character, his disregard of the world and its attractions; we behold his piety, benevolence; meekness, forbearance; we discover in his life a perfect illustration of his doctrines and precepts. To this character we look as an illustrious model of moral excellence, at once commanding our imitation, and serving as a guide to our steps.

All this is a delusion if Christ were the Supreme God; no points of resemblance exist between God and man, from which the example of the former can be made a motive of action to the latter. If Christ were God, it cost him nothing to resist temptation; for he could not be tempted. That he refrained from sin under many trying circumstances is no proof, that we can refrain under similar ones. According to the trinitarian theory, therefore, the example of Christ was totally

without value, for it was impossible for him to be any other than a holy being; and in practising his exalted virtues he was only yielding a necessary compliance with the principles and laws of his nature.

This result is adverse to the account given by the apostles. St. Paul says, "It behooved him to be made in all things like unto his brethren;" and that, "he was in all points tempted like as we are."\* In this character his spotless example is such as we may and ought to follow. He was made like us, "touched with the feeling of our infirmities," tempted as we are, and exposed to the same evils and trials. He was without sin, not because it was impossible for him to sin, but because he exercised with an unfailing resolution and firmness the power he possessed of resisting temptation, moderating his desires, and complying with all the divine laws; the perfection of his character consisted in his deeds of active piety and goodness. All men have a similar power, and are capable of similar deeds; not in the same degree, but of the same kind. Hence the example of Christ is adapted to the human condition, and affords a motive to the obedience of his laws; the moment you suppose him to be God, the example and the motive vanish.

Much ingenuity has been exercised in attempts to remove this difficulty, by striving to make it appear, that Christ was God and man united; but even admitting the fact of this inexplicable union, which seems to have been at first devised for the purpose of reconciling discrepancies, it does not take away the difficulty in the present instance. The apostle speaks of "one Lord Jesus Christ," and of "one mediator between God and

\* Heb. ii. 17, iv. 15.

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men." However his nature was constituted, he was *one* being. If he was God, he must have possessed all the attributes and perfections of God; if he could be tempted in his human nature, he possessed an unlimited power of resistance in the divine, a power, which no human being, nor any other being but God, could possess. His perfection as God could not be obscured by adding the human nature; nor by this appendage was he brought any nearer in his moral attributes and capacity to the condition of man. It is still the example of God, which we behold in his life, an example, which we have neither power nor hope to imitate.

This doctrine of two natures, which is a main prop in the edifice of the trinity, is not every where so passive and inefficient. It fails of any good effects where its aid is most needed by its advocates; in other quarters it is active and desolating; it renders useless all rules of interpretation, and makes the language of Christ ambiguous and contradictory. It represents him as speaking in two characters, sometimes as God, sometimes as man, without intimating in which character. Pursue this notion to its consequences; as man he might be mistaken like other men; he has in no single instance given a hint by which we can be certain in which character he spoke, but he uniformly acted and conversed as one being, possessed of one nature, and sustaining one character. By what rule shall we judge? One reads his words, and says it is God that speaks; another says it is man. Who shall decide? Or how shall it be proved, that he did not utter the language, and speak with the wisdom of man only, when he published the doctrine of a future state, or any other of the doctrines of revelation. Do you say, that the divine

nature always controlled the human in these cases? How do you know? You can only decide by your arbitrary opinion, and every man may do the same. That is, no other rule appears than the fancy, caprice, and prejudices of men. In short, this doctrine of the double nature of Christ introduces uncertainty and confusion into the whole scheme of revelation; it leaves no safe ground for the humble christian to stand on; it carries destruction equally to the moral precepts, and revealed doctrines of the gospel.

Trinitarians are apt to dwell much on the humility of Christ in descending from the glory of the heavens, taking up his abode with men, submitting to the pains and hardships of a life of sufferings on earth, for the noble and benevolent purpose of procuring the salvation of mankind. They make this a ground of love and affectionate gratitude, and conceive that the ardour and effects of their emotions are much increased, by the conviction of the supreme deity of Christ. But how can they talk of the humility of the unchangeable God? Can the Being, who is the same from everlasting to everlasting, and whose perfections are as immutable as his nature, can such a Being humble himself, lay aside his attributes, and take upon him the nature of a frail, sinful man? Such a supposition is at war with every dictate of the understanding, and every feeling of the heart; in this view the humiliation of Christ is imaginary; it is impossible; it affords no rational incitements of love, sympathy, or gratitude. But "it is our belief, that Christ's humiliation was real and entire, that the whole Saviour, and not a part of him suffered, that his crucifixion was a scene of deep and unmixed agony. As we stand round his cross, our minds are not distract-

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ed, nor our sensibility weakened, by contemplating him as composed of incongruous and infinitely differing minds, and as having a balance of infinite felicity. We recognize, in the dying Jesus, but one mind. This, we think, renders his sufferings, and his patience and love in bearing them, incomparably more impressive and affecting, than the system we oppose."\* Here are just and forcible reasons for being deeply affected with the humiliation and sufferings of Christ; we consider him a being who was capable of suffering, and who voluntarily submitted to it for our sake.

One reason more shall be added, why the trinity has an unfavourable tendency with respect to piety and moral excellence. It is allowed by all christians, that a special object of the Messiahship of Jesus, was to make known and confirm the certainty of a future state, to open the prospects of immortality, and to fit men for an existence in another world. All our hopes as christians are built on the belief of a resurrection of the dead, and another state of being. Whence do we derive this belief? Wholly from the death and resurrection of Christ; according to the reasoning of the apostle, "If there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen; and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God, that he raised up Christ; whom he raised not up, if so be the dead rise not."† Here, it seems, the resurrection of men is argued from the resurrection of Christ. What force would be in this argument, if Christ were God; or what possible reason should we have for the consoling belief,

\* Rev. Dr. Channing's Ordination Sermon at Baltimore, p. 26.

† 1 Cor. xv. 13, 14, 15.

that we shall revive from the sleep of death, because he has revived, "and become the first fruits of them that slept?" For if God, or, which is the same thing, a person who was truly God, could have died and arisen from the dead, we cannot hence infer, that we shall rise, any more than that we can create ourselves anew, or do any other act of omnipotence. Take the character which the apostle gives of Christ; consider him as subject from his nature to suffering and death, as acting by the power of the Father, and not of himself; believe his own words when he speaks of his dependence, his limited knowledge and faculties; the argument then becomes an irresistible one. As God raised him from the dead, we have as convincing a proof as we can have, that he will raise us likewise; and on this substantial ground rests our hope of future safety and glory.

The weight and value of this argument are increased, when it is considered as furnishing a motive to obedience and holiness. If any thing will subdue the hardness of the sinner's heart, and awaken him to a sense of the folly and danger of sin; if any thing will quicken the sensibility of conscience, and impress the laws of heaven on the understanding, it is the certainty of a future judgment, a state of being where justice will raise her impartial scales, and award to each the precise measure of his deserts. The strength of this motive, and its influence on the mind and practice of every individual, will be in exact proportion to the conviction he feels, that the soul will exist hereafter, receive a just retribution from its Maker, know the pains of depravity and vice, and the joys of conscious innocence and purity. The system of faith, which adds the greatest force to the argument for a resurrection, will be the best calculated to give efficacy

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to this motive, and thus advance the great purpose of the christian religion; but from what has been said, it is quite obvious that the trinity, even if it be true, lends no help to such a system.

I have thus taken a short view of the influence of the trinity on some of the prominent principles of christian faith and practice. With what accuracy it has been done, I willingly leave to be decided by the candour and judgment of every reader; I have been obliged to content myself with hints only, but they embrace a compass of argument, in which may be included almost every branch and article of the orthodox faith. The trinity is a kind of trunk, which gives being and nourishment to the whole; and to me it would seem, that the evil consequences of this doctrine, if they were not checked by others more rational in their nature, and practical in their tendency, would overthrow the whole system of revelation, and leave nothing but a heartless infidelity or gloomy skepticism behind. The doctrine of the divine unity, in its simple form, is encumbered with none of these evils; it admits the authority of Jesus, and all he has revealed, taught, commanded, and promised, to operate with undiminished power on the understanding and affections of believers.

My next letter will be on the atonement.

Yours,

A UNITARIAN OF BALTIMORE.



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EIGHTH AND NINTH

**LETTERS**

TO THE

**REV. SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.**

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND CHURCH GOVERNMENT  
IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN  
CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES, AT PRINCETON.

ON HIS

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## EIGHTH LETTER

TO THE

REV. SAMUEL MILLER, D.D.

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SIR,

In my first letter I incidentally mentioned the names of several persons, whose lives and characters, it was thought, afforded no feeble testimony to the incorrectness of your charges of immorality and irreligion against unitarians. I was so unfortunate, however, as to select a few names to which you have taken great exceptions. Among these you specify Clayton, Hoadly, Chillingworth, Law, Blackburne; and your principle of selection would embrace Dr. Samuel Clarke, and all others, who were unitarians, and at the same time belonged to the English Church. You are amazed, that any one should refer to such men as examples of morality. "I am astonished," you say, "and know not how men, whom I am compelled to consider as honest and sincere themselves, can so far suffer their zeal to triumph over their prudence, I had almost said over their moral sense, as to claim such associates." It is presumed, that all your readers, who know any thing of the characters of these persons, have been equally astonished, that your own "zeal should so far triumph over your prudence," as to suffer you to arraign before your individual

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judgment, and condemn, with a latitude of censure amounting almost to reprobation, men, who have been universally admired for their talents, and revered for their virtues.

Since you have thus ventured, in terms the most serious, to impeach the characters of persons, who have always been considered not less an ornament to the christian profession, than worthy examples of the good influences of the unitarian faith, it becomes my duty to examine the *fact* in regard to their morals and lives, and also to inquire into the grounds of your impeachment. If, indeed, it can be made out, that these were bad men, and used religion only as a cloak for worldly and wicked purposes, as you would seem to insinuate, then it must be confessed, that the argument in favour of the moral tendency of unitarianism is rather weakened than confirmed by appealing to their example. But if the contrary be true, and they be ascertained to have been exemplary, and pious christians, it will follow, that you were mistaken, more vehement than accurate, and that the argument is sound.

As the only mode of settling the question in this shape, is by an appeal to their writings and cotemporaries, it can hardly be supposed, that my limited plan will allow me to go into a full investigation. I can only touch on a few prominent particulars. They shall be such, however, as will be conclusive. The truth is, you cannot select an equal number of men of so much eminence from any period of history, who were more distinguished for their excellence and christian virtues. Had you thrown your shafts at random, they could not have been more unfortunate in the direction they took, or the objects on which they chanced to fall. It is a fact, which you have not attempted to controvert, and

which I am persuaded you will not, that these men were remarkable for their practical goodness. Why then are they loaded with charges so heavy and offensive, why so much abhorrence expressed of their very names, why are they libelled and proscribed as men, who were a disgrace to their profession, who are to be reprobated and condemned as malefactors, and whom no honest man in defence of a good cause can "claim as associates?" You answer, that in belonging to the Church of England, they subscribed to articles which they did not believe. It follows, that they were hypocrites, and their goodness a show for their own convenience and interest. As the burden of your charges rests on this point, it shall be examined with some attention.

The question is, whether these men did not obey the dictates of conscience, and conform to the decision of their judgment in the course they pursued. If so, it would have been criminal to act differently. They are not to be judged by a rule, which any individual, not acquainted with their motives, may imagine he should prescribe to himself under similar circumstances. By this mode of judging, you would admit no man to be conscientious, or sincere, or to act rightly, till he should be guided by your rule. You have denounced these men as hypocrites, immoral, and irreligious, on principles by which every man in the community might, in a greater or less degree, come under the same censure. When you can prove by a man's conduct, that he aims to promote selfish interests and unholy purposes by a sacrifice of every thing, which can dignify and adorn the human character, or that he disregards all the laws of right reason and of revelation, which concern him as an immortal and accountable being, you may then, and not before, discover some show of justice in such a sen-

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tence of condemnation, as you have passed upon these men. In the present case, no such proof can be exhibited. No motives can be urged, which could have induced them to dissemble. The whole tenor of their lives is a standing witness to their uprightness, and whatever may be thought of their views of subscription, it is contrary to every principle of justice and charity, of conviction and belief, to suppose that in a case of the greatest possible moment, they forsook the integrity, which had uniformly guided them in concerns of infinitely less importance.

It is well known, that very different opinions have been entertained by different persons, respecting the nature and terms of subscription. Some have contended, that the articles ought to be explicitly believed in their literal sense by the person subscribing, while others have considered them as designed to secure the peace and union of the Church, without intending to impose a belief, or a pretended belief, in particular dogmas. In the present connexion it will be sufficient to hint at three general modes, in which the subject has been viewed.

First, it was a very early opinion, that the articles were intended not so much to be articles of faith, as of peace. Such was the opinion of Laud, of Sheldon, and many others of that period. Some general forms were necessary to keep the Church together, and although the framers of the articles made them express their own belief, yet the object to be attained was a unity of action, an agreement of order, a resolution and promise to submit to the authority, and support the institutions of the Church.

This was the sense in which the subject was understood by Chillingworth. He publicly professed not to subscribe the articles, as articles of faith, but of peace.

To this effect he speaks in the following words; "For the Church of England I am fully persuaded, that the constant doctrine of it is so pure and orthodox, that whosoever believes it, and lives according to it, shall be saved; and that there is no error in it, which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace, or renounce the communion of it; *this, in my opinion, is all intended by subscription.*"\* Here is no concealment, duplicity, nor dissembling. He tells you plainly and frankly, what he understands by subscribing; and whatever may have been his opinions in other respects, there is no room for doubting his honesty and integrity in this act.

He was first opposed to subscription from scruples of conscience, when a very advantageous preferment in the Church was offered to him; and the letter, which he wrote to Dr. Sheldon, declining this offer, because he could not assent to the articles in the sense, which he believed them to convey, affords one of the noblest testimonies of a powerful intellect, an excellent heart, an independent spirit, a lofty integrity, and great sacrifices for the sake of conscience, which have ever appeared. Speaking of subscription, he observes in this letter, "I thank God I am now so resolved, that I shall never do that while I am living and in health, which I would not do if I were dying; and this I am sure I would not do."† At this time he believed, that the articles should not be subscribed, unless they were believed in their most obvious sense. A long correspondence ensued, in which Sheldon, who was afterwards archbishop, argued,

\* Preface to the Author of Charity Maintained, Sec. 40.

† This Letter may be seen at full length in Kippis' edition of the Biog. Brit. Art. Chillingworth; and also in the Monthly Repository, vol. ix. p. 8.

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that the articles were meant to be "forms of peace." The reasoning of Sheldon, strengthened by that of archbishop Laud, who was the patron of Chillingworth, produced a change in his opinions. Without pretending to discuss the grounds of this change, I would simply inquire, with what semblance of justice, or candour, any one can accuse him of treachery to his conscience in this decision, any more than in the first, when the inducement was just as strong? In referring to this subject, the editors of the *Biographia Britannica* observe, "Whether Chillingworth's opinion upon this head were right, or wrong, there can be no doubt, from the whole tenour of his life, that he acted with perfect integrity."<sup>\*</sup>

You say of him, that "he was a protestant and papist by turns, and at length died a socinian, soon after having solemnly denied that he was one." This is harsh in the extreme, and the more so, as it is incapable of being supported by a shadow of proof. The mind of Chillingworth was uncommonly inquisitive from his childhood, and his love of truth was equal to his desire of attaining knowledge. By his early intimacy with a learned Jesuit, he was induced to embrace the Catholic faith; but his mind was hardly matured, before he discovered his error, and became, during the remainder of his life, the most able, learned, and successful defender of protestantism, that has ever engaged in the cause. This, in your language, was being a papist and protestant by turns. It is not true, that he was ever a socinian. It was a slander reiterated by his enemies during his lifetime, but, like other slanders, was never substantiated. Had you ever read Chillingworth's admirable apology for his change of opinions, I must believe you would never have

<sup>\*</sup> Biog. Brit. vol. iii. p. 518.

injured his memory by such ill founded and ungenerous insinuations as those above. No one can contemplate his remarks without admiring his frankness, his charitable temper, his humility, his zeal for truth; nor without feeling the utmost confidence in the purity of his intentions, the sincerity of his heart, and the piety of his soul.<sup>28</sup>

The views of Clayton seem to have been nearly the same as those of Chillingworth. He was, if possible, more open in the avowal of his opinion, as appears from his eloquent speech before the Irish House of Lords, in which he defended a bill proposing alterations in the Book of Common Prayer. He argued and proved, that it was not the intention of the original act of uniformity, by which subscription was required, to enforce a belief in particular doctrines, but simply to demand an "unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in

\* See Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*. Chap. v. § 103.—chap. iv. § 16.—chap. vi. § 56.

Clarendon says of him, that "he was a man of excellent parts, and cheerful disposition; void of all kind of vice, and endued with many notable virtues; of a very public heart, and an indefatigable desire to do good."

Some excellent remarks on the character and principles of Chillingworth, and the persecutions he received from his enemies, as well as strictures on the ravings of Cheynell respecting his last illness, death, and burial, may be seen in Hoadly's *Letter to Dr. Snape, prefixed to Pilonniere's Answer*. Works, vol. ii. p. 617, et seqq.

I take the liberty in this place to correct an error into which I have fallen in my third Letter. [Miscellany, Vol. i. p. 279.] The following sentiment is there referred to Locke, namely, "Let those, that in their words disclaim infallibility, disclaim it likewise in their actions." This belongs to Chillingworth, by whom it is thus expressed. "Require of christians only to believe Christ, and to call no man master but him only. Let those leave claiming infallibility, that have no title to it; and let them that in their words disclaim it, disclaim it likewise in their actions." *Religion of Protestants, &c.* chap. iv. § 16.

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the said book." Such was the language of the Act, but in the form of declaration then in use, the words here marked with italics were omitted, thereby conveying a totally different sense, and perverting the original intention of the Act. "As there is," says Clayton in this speech, "a wide distance between being certain of the truth, and being certain of the falsehood of some propositions, it is no way inconsistent with the strictest honesty for persons to give their assent and consent, for peace and uniformity's sake, *to the use of some particular forms of worship, either in doctrine or discipline,* though they may not thoroughly approve of the things themselves, and to try to get them amended; while the public declaration of our assent and consent to the things themselves, ties down the mind from any further inquiry, and by discouraging all doubts and inquisitive industry, puts a stop to all improvement in knowledge, or any further reformation in religion." The same opinion he defended several years before, in a dedication to Dr. Stone, Primate of Ireland, which was prefixed to an Essay on Spirit.

Add to this, that Clayton was renowned through his whole life for his numerous virtues, for his amiable disposition, benevolence, disinterestedness, and indeed for all the characteristics of a pious and good man; that he was persecuted for his opinions, and suffered much from the reproaches and the ill treatment of the world,—add these things, and then ask yourself, what possible reason can be devised for supposing him to have been actuated by any other than conscientious, honest, and pure motives. He did not need, nor covet, the emoluments of the Church, for he possessed an ample fortune, and was known frequently to bestow more in offices of charity, than the whole amount of his ecclesiastical sti-

pende. Instead of a lavish bounty of censure, therefore, a true christian spirit would find much to commend and admire in the virtues of such a man.\*

Secondly, the articles have been considered as requiring subscription in that sense, which the subscriber believes to be consistent with scripture. This opinion was adopted and defended by Dr. Samuel Clarke. It is in conformity with the protestant principle of taking the Scriptures as our only guide. No one can adhere to this principle in assenting to forms of human composition, unless he receives them in that sense only, which he believes the Scriptures to convey, and as affording such interpretations of the Scriptures, as are consistent with the meaning he attaches to them. Hence, whatever form of words any one may be called to subscribe, for religious purposes, he is bound to receive them in that sense, in which they can be made consistent expositions of scripture, and in no other. Dr. Clarke declares this to have been the principle by which he was guided,

\* The following anecdote is illustrative of the character of Clayton. While on a visit to London, a person of respectable appearance called on him to ask charity. Suspecting imposition, he at first declined, but when the name of Dr. Clarke was incidentally mentioned by the person, Clayton told him, if he would obtain a certificate from Dr. Clarke, respecting the necessity of his circumstances, he would afford him aid. A certificate was produced, and without further inquiry, he gave him three hundred pounds, which sum was abundantly sufficient to relieve him from all his embarrassments.

Hearing of this noble act of benevolence, Dr. Clarke sought the acquaintance of Clayton, and introduced him to the Queen, who was so much delighted with the simplicity of his manners, the gentleness of his disposition, his benevolent and charitable spirit, that she immediately provided for his being appointed to the first vacant bishopric in Ireland. It hence appears, that the sole cause of his preferment was the excellence of his character, for it was long after this period, that he attained the celebrity to which he was raised by his learning and talents. *Biog. Brit. vol. iii. p. 621.*

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in respect to the trinity. "I desire it may be observed," he says, "that my assent to the use of the forms by law appointed, and to all words of human institution, is given only *in that sense*, wherein they are, according to the explication given in the several parts of this book, (*Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*.) agreeable to that which appears to me, upon the most careful and serious consideration of the whole matter, to be the doctrine of scripture; and *not in that sense*, which the popish schoolmen, affecting, for the sake of *transubstantiation*, to make every thing look like a contradiction, endeavoured to introduce into the church."\* Will you say, that Dr. Clarke was not sincere in this declaration, that he was seeking for a subterfuge, that he cherished self delusion, and aimed to deceive the world, that he rashly and foolishly hazarded the safety of his soul, by defying the vengeance of a holy and heart searching God? You must either sustain these positions, or allow his purposes to have been good, and his conduct innocent.†

It is the same with him, as in the examples of Chillingworth and Clayton. You have no other criterion of judging, than the character, which he sustained through life; and it may be doubted if history have recorded one more worthy, or unexceptionable. The strength of his religious affections, and the high and uniform tone of his morals, which his writings display, and which no one has attempted to disparage, are well expressed in the

\* Introduction to the *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 33.

† Bishop Pearson seems to have had the same opinion as Dr. Clarke. Speaking of the Creed, he says, "I observe that whatsoever is delivered in the Creed, we *therefore* believe, *because* it is contained in the scriptures; and consequently must *so* believe it as it is contained there." *Exposition of the Creed*, 4th edit. p. 227.

following language of his biographer. "His piety was manly and unaffected, built upon the most solid grounds, and free from all pomp and show. The charity of his temper and good will was as extensive as the whole rational creation of God. The love of the religious and civil liberties of mankind was a ruling and powerful principle in his heart and practice. In a word, his morals, from the first of his days to the last, were without reproach. There was an innocence and inoffensiveness remarkable through his whole behaviour, and his life, when he came into the view of the great world, was an ornament and strength to that religion, which his pen so well defended."\*

A third mode of considering the articles is, that they ought to be received according to the intention of the legislature, by which they were originally imposed. This view is supported by Paley.† He reasons, that it was not the original intention to make every man believe in each separate proposition, as such a thing is plainly impossible. The articles involve the most intricate subjects of metaphysical controversy, in which no two men were ever in all respects agreed. It was intended to exclude persons inclined to popery, anabaptists, puritans, and all others opposed to the episcopal establishment. Any person embraced within this list, Dr. Paley thinks ought not to subscribe at all; but any one not thus embraced may subscribe without

\* Hoadly's *Life of Clarke*, Works, vol. iii. p. 468.

For a high eulogy on the virtues and piety of Dr. Clarke, see bishop Hare's Works, vol. ii. p. 23. Lond. 1746. It was a saying of the parishioners of Dr. Clarke,—"However we differ from him in some matters, we desire to see no other person in the pulpit."

† Moral Philosophy, book iii. part 1, chap. 22.

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giving credence to every article, provided he is convinced, that he complies strictly with the intention of the legislature.

Now I am very far from defending these modes of regarding the articles; nor does it come within my province to enter upon their merits. It is enough to bring into view the facts stated above to show, that the persons, whom you have censured with so much freedom, had reasons for their conduct, and such reasons as have been approved and acted upon by wise and good men of all parties. I do not assert the truth of their opinions, nor plead for their infallibility, but for their integrity, their conviction, and righteous motives. I infer these from the unimpeachable character of their lives, from their multiplied deeds of piety and goodness, and from their own declarations respecting their views of the nature and object of subscription. In screening them from your charges, I impose no tax on the indulgence of any person; I demand the exercise of common justice.

It is not important to investigate the particular motives of all the persons, whom your rule would include. Their precise opinions respecting subscription may not always be so accurately known, as in the examples above cited. But the argument holds good in all cases, that they ought to be considered honest in this particular, when they were known to be so in every thing else; and that whatever they thought of the mode, they were conscientious in the thing itself. If you deny this, you must deny, that character has any dependence on actions, and affirm, that men are to be accounted moral or immoral, according to the fancy or caprice of any one, who may choose to sit in judgment.

In regard to Hoadly, whoever doubts his integrity in any course he pursued, I would advise him to read his sermons on *Christian Moderation*, on *Judging one another*, and on *Persecution*. In these sermons may be seen the high principles of rectitude, of moral dignity, and of religious freedom, which influenced his opinions, and regulated his practice. In these may also be seen the deep responsibility under which he felt to his Maker, and the love and good will, which he cherished for all men. If a man's writings from the beginning to the end of a long life, are to be taken as any test of his principles and character, no one can be entitled to a fairer fame than Hoadly. He was an advocate, and a powerful advocate, for civil and religious liberty. His sermon before the king, on the *Kingdom of Christ*, which was the commencement of the famous Bangorian controversy, was wholly occupied in defending the great protestant principle of the right of private judgment, and perfect freedom of thought in religion. These were themes of which he was never weary. The purity of his morals was equal to his singleness of heart, and love of independence. Although he was attacked with much violence from every quarter, and compelled to make many replies, and meet many heavy charges, it was said of him at the time, and it is not likely to be controverted at the present day, that "the enemies of religious liberty had not been able to fix any disgrace on the unspotted character of the most excellent bishop."<sup>\*</sup>

The case of Blackburne is more in point, than any I have noticed. He refused preferment, because he

\* See *An Account of the Bangorian Controversy*, drawn up by a person thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and with the character of Hoadly, and printed in the later editions of Hoadly's Works.

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would not again subscribe. He was intimate with Lindsey, Disney, and others of the unitarian belief, and when Dr. Chandler died, the congregation at the old Jewry, in London, knowing Blackburne's views concerning the established Church, took pains to ascertain whether, if chosen, he would become their pastor. He declined, notwithstanding his income would be three times as large as the one he then received. "His continuance in the church," says Dr. Rees, "cannot be justly ascribed to any selfish and interested motives, because he might have left it with advantage, and he remained in it with a fixed purpose of accepting no preferment; and he refused very considerable offers of this kind." In his very able and admirable work, *The Confessional*, he opposes the notion in all its shapes, that the articles could properly be subscribed without believing them in their literal acceptation.\* After having subscribed, he remained in the Church, but refused advancement on the condition of further subscription, and declined the most liberal offers out of the Church, which he might have accepted without subscribing. How is this conduct to be explained by your principles of hypocrisy and selfishness? How is it to be explained in any way, except by supposing the man to have yielded to a rigid sense of duty, and to have sacrificed the prospects of worldly gain and preferment to his religious scruples, and peace of conscience?

Such are the men, whom you charge with the grossest immorality, and of whom you say, in a late work, if they were unitarians, "they have lived in habits of the most shameful dishonesty and perjury; a dishonesty and

\* See *Confessional*, second edit. p. 202. Also, Ridley's *Three Letters to the Author of the Confessional*. Letter Third.

perjury, which, if known, could not fail of rendering them, in the eyes of all upright men, a disgrace to any society calling itself a church of Christ."\* Without stopping to descant on the delicacy of phrase, and mildness of spirit, with which this passage is marked, I would simply repeat, what I have before suggested, that, putting religious considerations out of the question, common justice demands something like an examination, before a final and irrevocable sentence is passed. Even the inquisition had its judgment halls, and so much respect was paid to public sentiment, however debased and perverted, as to go through the forms of investigation. You have discovered a shorter method, and set up a tribunal, at which all these things are dispensed with in a most summary way, and the first step in the process is, to inflict the sentence of condemnation. I know not that any friend of truth has reason to lament the introduction of this new system, as in its operation it must effectually defeat itself. Rashness and violence are seldom accounted an indication of the justice of a cause; and a fondness for censure betrays more of a soured temper and depraved heart, than of christian love, kindness, and forbearance.

I am not disposed to assume for these men the same merit for independence, as I would for Robertson, Lindsey, Disney, Jebb, and others, who left the Church. Nor do I think this necessary to vindicate their characters from such allegations, as you have made. No one has any reason to question their motives. They were virtuous and pious men. Some of them remained in the Church against their interest, and frankly declared to the world in what light they regarded subscription.

\* Letters on Unitarianism, p. 108.

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From these premises, which are thoroughly established, I maintain the inference to be legitimate and conclusive, that they were honest and sincere. Robertson and Lindsey continued several years in the Church after they became unitarians, and this, as they tell you, with a clear conscience, and under a sense of duty. No one, I apprehend, will have the hardihood to accuse them of "dishonesty and perjury," or of prevaricating and dissembling. There is a christian virtue, called charity, which, as practised by the Saviour and the primitive christians, should teach us to think favourably of our brethren.

Trace your principle farther. It operates with just as much rigour on other persons belonging to the Church, as on unitarians. In truth, it reaches to every individual, who subscribes the articles. Do you believe any person to have subscribed, who gave credence literally to every proposition in every article? Does not each one modify many parts in accordance with what he conceives to be the meaning of scripture? And among episcopalians, are there not all shades and gradations of theological opinions? This is not to be denied. But do you suppose the articles *literally* teach all religious opinions? Do they teach Arminianism to some, and Calvinism to others? Did they teach Jeremy Taylor to write against original sin and predestination, which are two of the most conspicuous doctrines of the articles? Did they teach the bishop of Lincoln to defend the doctrine of universal redemption, and Scott, and his Calvinistic brethren, to restrict the possibility of salvation to the elect? Did they teach Wallis and South to find only a trinity of modes in the Deity, and Sherlock to discover, that the Divinity consists of three beings, as distinct as three men? When all these ques-

tions can be answered in the affirmative; that is, when innumerable contradictions can be reconciled, it may then be proved, that all others besides unitarians have concurred in receiving the articles in their literal sense. It may then be proved, also, and not before, that unitarians, belonging to the Church, have been more dishonest than other episcopalians, and that all, indiscriminately, who have subscribed the articles, were guilty of "dishonesty and perjury."

Once more. Let the principle be carried into your own church. When a candidate is licensed to preach, he is required, by the Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church, to answer the following question in the affirmative. "Do you sincerely receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this church, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the holy Scriptures?"\* This declaration, so far as faith is concerned, amounts to precisely the same thing as subscription in the Episcopal Church. It binds the candidate to receive the Confession of Faith as the rule of his opinions. Now this formulary is in the highest tone of Calvinism. What shall we say, when we find Presbyterians, who have solemnly made this declaration, afterwards denying their belief of several articles in the Confession of Faith? Is it not a fact, that more than one fifth of the Presbyterian General Assembly are Hopkinsians? Is it not true, that some of them, I will not undertake to say how many, are inclining to Arminianism? Is it not true, that some, who call themselves the "stricter sort," say as little as possible of that vital doctrine of Calvinism, denominated, in the Confession of Faith, "God's Eternal Decree?" How are these things to be recon-

\* Form of Government in the Presbyterian Church. Chap. xiii. Section 5.

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ciled? Shall we cut the matter short, and deplore such lamentable instances of "dishonesty and perjury?" No. Let us put on the garments of humility and of charity; let each one remove the beam from his own eye, and study the imperfection of his own heart. Let him first scrutinize and judge himself. He will then be better prepared to enumerate the faults, reprobate the motives, and disparage the character of his brethren. Nay, rather, it is hoped he will be better prepared for aiding the progress of christian truth, and for establishing the Redeemer's kingdom, the kingdom of piety and goodness, in the hearts and lives of men.

In my next I shall inquire into the theological opinions of Newton, Locke, and Watts.

Yours,

A UNITARIAN OF BALTIMORE.

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NINTH LETTER,

TO THE

REV. SAMUEL MILLER, D. D.

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SIR,

In the closing remarks of your Letter, strong disapprobation is expressed, that unitarians should presume to rank Newton, Locke and Watts, among their numbers. You intimate a belief, that in using this freedom with the two former, "those illustrious men are treated, with great injustice;" and "against placing the pious, the heavenly-minded Watts in such company, you feel constrained to enter your solemn protest." As I had enumerated these men among others, who were not believers in the trinity, and as you have been so prompt to question the accuracy, and even the justice of this enumeration, I propose to devote a few words to a consideration of this topic.

It may be premised, that unitarians do not recur to great names as affording any proof of the truth of their opinions. Error is not confined to the ignorant and unwise. nor is infallibility the prerogative of greatness. In religion we look for *proof* nowhere but in the Scriptures. The authority of great names ought, doubtless, to have its weight, not in convincing us in opposition to the word of God, but in confirming us in the conclusions to which we have come by a careful inquiry. Jus-

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tice to ourselves, as well as to the cause we support, compels us to recur often to the names of distinguished unitarians. It is among the delights of our adversaries to impress it on the public mind, that our insignificance must necessarily prove us heretics; that our opinions are too novel to be true; and that the voice of all the learned, and wise, and good, speaks loudly against us. This string is harped upon incessantly. No matter how false and discordant its notes, so long as their tone is sufficiently high, and they produce the desired effect on the multitude. Prejudices grow out of these errors. We desire to lessen the evil by removing the cause. We wish our brethren to be enlightened, to know the truth, and to have as few occasions as possible for uncharitableness and reproach. We are influenced by a double motive, therefore, in referring to distinguished names; first, the natural desire of showing that our faith has been embraced and supported by wise and excellent men; and secondly, the hope of softening the roughness, and tempering the violence of those, who indulge in a license of obloquy and disparagement, which, we are willing to believe, is more the result of ignorance, than of a wicked disposition.

Let it be further observed, that in the cases of Newton and Locke, the labour of proof belongs to trinitarians. These men have always been classed with unitarians; they have been perpetually quoted on that side of the question, nor have I ever heard of their authority being brought forward in favour of the trinity, or even of orthodoxy. Prove from their writings, or from the writings of their cotemporaries, or from any well established facts, that they were trinitarians, and the point will be settled. The persons, who manifest so lively a concern for what they profess to deem the in-

jured reputation of these great men, have exhibited no proof to this effect. Until this be done, Newton and Locke must be considered unitarians, as they always have been. I am not disposed, however, to decline an investigation of some of the positive evidences of the fact. The inquiry must necessarily be confined to a narrow space.

Sir Isaac Newton was one of the first, who formally engaged in proving the spuriousness of the famous text of the three heavenly witnesses, 1 John v. 7; and also in showing that the received reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16, is a corruption.\* This subject was discussed in two letters said to have been written to Le Clerc. The language and arguments are precisely such, as would be used by unitarians, and such as trinitarians of that day, before the controversy touching those passages had been much agitated, could not be supposed to have employed. In adverting to the testimony of Cyprian, Newton observes, that "he does not say the Father, the *Word*, and the Holy Ghost, as in 1 John, v. 7, but the Father, the *Son*, and the Holy Ghost, as it is in Baptism, *the place from which they at first TRIED to derive the trinity.*"† Do you believe this language ever escaped from a trinitarian? Instead

\* In regard to 1 Tim. iii. 16, Newton was of the same opinion as Dr. Samuel Clarke. Instead of *God manifest in the flesh*, he believed the true reading to be, *He who, or that which was manifest in the flesh*. "All the old versions," says Dr. Clarke, "have it *qui* or *quod*. And all the ancient Fathers, though the copies of many of them have it now in the text itself, *θεος, Deus*, yet from the tenour of their comments upon it, and from their never citing it in the Arian controversy, it appears they always read it *qui* or *quod*." *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, p. 88. Third Edit. Mills says, this text was never quoted as proof of Christ's divinity, till the year 380, and then first by Gregory Nyssen.—Gregorius Nyssenus primus omnium, &c.

† See Newton's Works, Horsley's Edition, vol. v. p. 488; or the Two Letters in a separate form, as they were printed in 1754.

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of indicating any confidence in the doctrine of the trinity, does it not strongly imply that the advocates of this doctrine have TRIED in vain to find it in a text, to which they have universally resorted as a strong hold? The person, who can read these Letters with an unshaken conviction, that the author was not an antitrinitarian, must have a rule of deciding the meaning of a writer from his language, which few will apprehend.

In referring again to the text in John, Newton says, "Let them make good sense of it who are able. If it be said, that we are not to determine what is scripture, and what not, by our own private judgments, I confess it in places not controverted. *But in disputable points, I love to take up with what I can best understand. It is the temper of the hot and superstitious part of mankind, in matters of religion, to be fond of mysteries; and, for that reason, to like best what they understand least.* Such men use the apostle John as they please; but I have that honour for him, as to believe, that he wrote good sense, and, therefore, take that sense to be his, which is the best, especially since I am defended in it by so great authority." It is readily admitted, that these words *might* be spoken by a trinitarian. It must nevertheless be granted, that it is a kind of language, which no one of that faith has been known to use. The sentiments it inculcates are peculiar to unitarians, and are continually attacked by their opponents with almost as much harshness, as their views of the trinity itself. The trinity is a mystery, and if that doctrine is to have the preference, which we "can best understand," who will ever be a trinitarian?\*

\* In Newton's remarks on the Book of Revelations, he speaks as follows; "As the few and obscure prophecies concerning Christ's first coming were for the setting up of the christian religion, *which*

When Sir Isaac Newton was Master of the Mint; the office of Assay Master was filled by Mr. Hopton Haynes. This gentleman was a unitarian, and wrote with much ability and learning a treatise on the subject, which has recently been several times republished.\* Mr. Haynes, who was long and intimately acquainted with Newton, declared to a friend,† that “he did not believe our Lord’s pre-existence, being a socinian, as we call it, in that article; and that Sir Isaac much lamented Dr. Clarke’s embracing Arianism, which opinion he feared had been, and still would be, if maintained by learned men, a great obstruction to the progress of christianity.”‡ This declaration is alone amply sufficient. It was made by a man who could not possibly mistake. I am aware of Magee’s insinuations, that Haynes and Baron were *unitarians*, and therefore not to be trusted; but I am also aware of many other insinuations of his not less gross or illiberal. When unitarianism is concerned no man is more fruitful in sneers and low ridicule, none more barren in argument and fact. In the present instance, as in many others, his poisoned arrows rebound upon himself. As he has substituted sneers for reasons, it is

ALL NATIONS have since corrupted; so the many and clear prophecies concerning the things to be done at Christ’s second coming, are not only for predicting, but also for *effecting a recovery of the long-lost truth.*” What is the corruption here spoken of, and what is the long-lost truth? Read Priestley’s History of Early Opinions, and of the Corruptions of Christianity, and you will discover the sentiments of unitarians on the subject, which I have no doubt were the sentiments of Newton.

\* This work is called a *Scripture Account of the Attributes and Worship of God, and of the Character and Offices of Jesus Christ.*

† The Rev. Richard Baron, “a person of great probity and public spirit, and known by many valuable publications.”

‡ See the Preface to the 2d edition of Haynes’s *Scripture Account*. p. vii.

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plain enough that no reasons were at hand. An impartial and unbiassed writer has said of Haynes, in speaking of his general character, without allusion to his theological opinions, "that he always behaved himself highly worthy of the great trust reposed in him, being indefatigable and most faithful in the execution of his offices;" and adds, "We may conclude, from his being in the Mint, at the time Sir Isaac Newton presided there, and from his known piety and love of learned conversation, that he had frequent intercourse and enjoyed the good opinion of that excellent man."\* The probability, that an intimacy and a similarity of opinion existed between them is also strengthened by the fact mentioned in Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, that Haynes translated the Two Letters above mentioned into Latin.

There is yet another argument directly in point, and in my mind an unanswerable one. It is well known, that Newton left several papers on theological subjects, which have never been permitted to come before the world. They were cautiously excluded from Horsley's large edition of his works. These papers have been said to contain more at large the author's views of the unitarian system. Nor has this report been contradicted by the persons who hold the papers in their possession. It was not contradicted by Horsley, who examined the papers, and declared them unsuitable for publication. What could Horsley find in any theological writings of Sir Isaac Newton, which he deemed proper to keep in the dark? This question has been answered in conformity with the common sense of mankind, by a writer, who cannot be supposed to have spoken from interested mo-

\* Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. ii, p. 140, 141, as cited by Dr. Carpenter, and in Mr. Aspland's Preface to the 3th edition of the *Scripture Account*.

tives. "Newton's religious opinions were not orthodox. For example, he did not believe in the trinity. This gives us the reason why Horsley, the champion of the trinity, found Newton's papers unfit for publication. But it is much to be regretted, that they have never seen the light."\*

I will only add, that Dr. Chalmers has confessed his belief in the unitarian sentiments of Newton—awkwardly enough, to be sure, but still it is a confession—and this, after making him not only the greatest and wisest philosopher, but the acutest and profoundest theologian, whom the world has seen.†

Concerning the opinions of Locke I have but little to say. The main point in question is sufficiently settled by a single fact, which is, that public sentiment has invariably ranked him among unitarians, and no one has succeeded in proving this sentiment erroneous. I know what Magee and Bishop Burgess have *attempted* to do, and I also know what they have totally failed to accomplish. They were willing to believe, like yourself, that Locke was "treated with great injustice," by having unitarianism imputed to him, and they generously undertook the labour of freeing him from this imputation. They read his works, and no doubt with all the fidelity and zeal, which their concern for his reputation demanded. They made quotations, but to what did they amount? To nothing indeed, which advances

\* Thompson's History of the Royal Society, p. 283.—Annals of Philosophy, vol. ii, p. 322; as quoted by Marsden.

† Compare the Preface to Dr. Chalmers' Astronomical Discourses with the second sermon in the course. See likewise Unitarian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 167.

For further information respecting the sentiments of Newton, consult Marsden's Letter to the Rev. Dr. Chalmers; and Carpenter's Examination of Magee's Charges against Unitarians and Unitarianism.

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their purpose. They have not been able to discover a fact, hint, or allusion, which warrants the inference, that Locke believed in a trinity. In relation to this doctrine, they have not quoted a syllable to which unitarians generally will not assent. Is not the conclusion from these particulars directly the contrary of that, which Magee and Burgess would establish. And if they have failed, who will undertake the task?\*

Locke has written largely upon the christian religion. The primary object of his *Reasonableness of Christianity* was to ascertain the kind of faith necessary to make a man a christian. But in the course of this investigation he exhibits, with some degree of minuteness, his views of the christian dispensation. In his two *Vindications* he expresses his thoughts more at length, and dwells particularly on what his opponents called fundamentals, and charged him with omitting. This list of fundamentals is in close resemblance to the one you have drawn up, as containing articles essential to the faith of any person, who would be entitled to the name of christian. Locke denied, that any such articles were necessary, and maintained what he had asserted and proved in his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, that one essential article of faith only was preached by the Saviour and his apostles, namely, that Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God. Whoever professed this faith was considered a member of Christ's church.

\* Prebendary Dennis gravely cited a work called, *Locke's Common place Book to the Bible*, as a proof that he was a trinitarian. Others, perhaps, may have been influenced by the same authority. This book was first published in 1763. It was afterwards enlarged, and by a species of pious imposition was sent out under the name of Mr. Locke. Notwithstanding it has always been known to be spurious, it is still published as Locke's, with a preface ascribed to him, which, as Bishop Law has said, "is neither sense nor English."

Locke has also left an elaborate paraphrase and commentary on four of St. Paul's Epistles. In all these writings nothing appears, which shows the author to have had any leaning towards the doctrine of the trinity, or any other of the doctrines of high orthodoxy. Does not this amount to a demonstration, that he believed in none of these things? Was it ever known, that a trinitarian has written expressly on the fundamental articles, without in any shape embracing the distinguishing doctrine of his faith? It is presumed not. Consult Locke's interpretation of those texts in the Epistles usually quoted in support of the trinity. In no case will you discover any tendency to this doctrine.\*

The facts here stated are conclusive. They constitute an argument, which can be overthrown only by positive evidence, that Locke was a trinitarian. Let this be produced, and the controversy will be at an end.

I have room for no more than two or three quotations from Locke's works. It will appear from these, however, that the *principles*, by which he was guided in explaining the religion of the Saviour, and interpreting the word of God, are in all respects the same as those of unitarians.

In the first place, he believed the truths revealed by Jesus to be adapted to the understanding; that all men, the simple as well as the wise, "are concerned in this re-

\* Examine particularly the famous text of Rom. ix. 5, which trinitarians consider so strong in their favour. Locke's paraphrase gives it a meaning wholly irrelevant to their purpose. Instead of the rendering of the common version, which reads as follows, "Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever," Locke renders it, "Christ is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever."

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ligion, and ought to *understand it*, in order to their salvation." For thus declaring religion to be an intelligible thing, he drew upon him the censure and sneers of his adversary. In reply, he said, "I hope it is no derogation to the christian religion to say, that the fundamentals of it, that is, all that is necessary to be believed in it, by all men, is easy to be understood by all men. This I thought myself authorized to say, by the very easy and very intelligible articles insisted on by our Saviour and his apostles; which contain nothing but what could be understood by the bulk of mankind."\* Now I would ask, whether the trinity be a "very easy and a very intelligible article," and whether it "contains nothing which may not be understood by the bulk of mankind?" I would also ask, whether the principles here assumed by Locke be not at variance with those universally received and acted upon by trinitarians?†

Furthermore, do not all believers in the trinity consider this doctrine of the highest importance, and a necessary article of faith? Do they not all contend, that it

\* *Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity*; Locke's Works, eleventh edition, Vol. vii. p. 176. See also Locke's views of this subject in the chapter on *Faith and Reason*, in his *Essay on the Human Understanding*, Book iv. c. 18.

† In the year 1781, a book was published in England by a Mr. Milner, deploring the calamities, which were about to come upon the world, by introducing human reason into religion. Mr. Locke is made the great offender, and in alluding to him, the writer utters the following lamentations. "Reason has impertinently meddled with the gospel, and that with such overbearing credulity, as to darken it more and more; and rivers of tears would not suffice to bewail the increase of moral misery, which, since Mr. Locke's time, has pervaded these kingdoms." And again; "it was Mr. Locke, who first, unhappily, gave reason leave to intrude herself into the secrets of christianity."

was preached by the Saviour and his apostles? But Locke virtually denied both of these propositions. He asserted, that Jesus and the apostles preached only one article as essential, which was the Messiahship of Jesus. Hear what he says in reply to his opponents, who charged him with being a socinian, because he omitted the trinity and its collateral doctrines. "Did he amiss," he asks, alluding to himself, "that he offered to the belief of those, who stood off, that and only that, which our Saviour and his apostles preached, for the reducing the unconverted world; and would any one think he in earnest went about to persuade men to be christians, who should use that as an argument to recommend the gospel, which he has observed men to lay hold on, as an objection against it? To urge such points of controversy, as necessary articles of faith, when we see *our Saviour and the apostles, in their preaching, urged them not as necessary to be believed to make men christians*, is, by our own authority, to add prejudices to prejudices, and to block our own way to those men, whom we would have access to, and prevail upon."\* Can any thing be plainer than this passage? He tells you, that he had not enforced the doctrines, for the omission of which he was charged with the heresy of socinianism, because, "our Saviour and the apostles urged them not as necessary to be believed, to make men christians." The trinity was one of these doctrines. What is the inference, if it be not, that Locke did not believe the trinity to have been preached by the Saviour and the apostles?†

\* *Vindication, &c.* Works, vol. vii. p. 164.

† I cannot forbear quoting in this place, a passage from Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, which presents in clear terms the substance of his views respecting essential articles of faith. He

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Some persons seem to have deceived themselves in regard to Locke's opinions, by not giving a proper attention to the object of his reasonings, especially in his two *Vindications*. When the *Reasonableness of Christianity* appeared, it was furiously attacked by Edwards, in a treatise called *Socinianism Unmasked*, and charged not only with inculcating socinianism, but even the desolating tenets of deism and atheism. The *Vindications* were written in reply to Edwards, and conducted in a masterly train of logical reasonings, aiming at one point only, which was to disprove the charge of a tendency to the peculiar tenets of socinianism, and to irreligion in the *Reasonableness of Christianity*. In doing this, Locke had no occasion to bring forward and explain his own opinions, or all the topics embraced in the controversy. It was his sole object to show the disingenuousness of his adversary in making charges, and

states, "that above threescore years after our Saviour's passion, St. John knew nothing else required to be believed for the attaining of life, but that 'Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God,'<sup>17</sup> and then goes on to add the following words;

"To this it is likely it will be objected by some, that to believe only that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, is but an historical, and not a justifying, or saving faith."

"To which I answer, that I allow to the makers of systems and their followers, to invent and use what distinctions they please, and to call things by what names they think fit. But I cannot allow to them, or to any man, an authority to make a religion for me, or to alter that which God hath revealed. And if they please to call the believing that, which our Saviour and his apostles preached, and proposed alone to be believed, an historical faith, they have their liberty; but they must have a care, how they deny it to be a justifying or saving faith, when our Saviour and his apostles have declared it so to be, and taught no other, which men should receive, and whereby they should be made believers unto eternal life; unless they can so far make bold with our Saviour, for the sake of their beloved systems, as to say, that he forgot what he came into the world for, and that he

drawing inferences, totally unwarranted by any thing in the work, which he was pretending to examine. It was no part of his purpose, to make known the tenets of his faith, but to show that the objections made against his book, on account of its supposed irreligious tendency, were ill natured and unfounded.

Bishop Stillingfleet had the acuteness to discover, as he imagined, a secret attack on the trinity, even in the *Essay on the Human Understanding*. Locke, in his reply, does not say that he believes in the trinity, and that therefore the bishop's insinuations are false, but goes on to repel the charges, by showing that the book has nothing to do with the trinity, and is gratuitously dragged into the controversy. These facts explain the reason why Locke was less explicit on many topics, than would

and his apostles did not instruct people right in the way and mysteries of salvation.

"For that this is the sole doctrine pressed and required to be believed in the whole tenour of our Saviour's and his apostles' preaching, we have showed through the whole history of the Evangelists and the Acts. And I challenge them to show, that there was any other doctrine, upon their assent to which, men were pronounced believers or unbelievers, and accordingly received into the church of Christ, as members of his body, as far as mere believing could make them so; or else kept out of it. This was the only gospel article of faith, which was preached to them. And if nothing else was preached every where, the apostle's argument will hold against any other articles of faith to be believed under the gospel: 'How shall they believe that whereof they have not heard?' Rom. x. 14. For to preach any other doctrines necessary to be believed, we do not find that any body was sent." *Reasonableness of Christianity*; Works, vol. vii. p. 102.

It is not necessary to ask whether this is the language of trinitarians. See more in Locke's letter to Limboreh on the unity of God Works, vol. x. p. 71.

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be expected, if he were explaining and defending his own tenets.\*

According to bishop Law, there is much reason for supposing Locke to have been a contributor to the *Unitarian Tracts*, published in England, near the close of the seventeenth century.† It is not easy, perhaps, to ascertain his precise opinions respecting the nature of Christ. Like the old socinians, and the generality of unitarians of the present day, he believed in the miraculous conception; but it will be a difficult thing to prove, that he believed in the simple humanity, or the worship of Christ, which were also two of the leading tenets of socinianism. Lardner considered him an Arian, and ranked him with Dr. John Taylor, as may be seen in his

\*The following extract from Locke's *Second Reply to the Bishop of Worcester*, will give us no very indistinct notion of his views of the trinity.

"I presume your lordship, in your discourse in vindication of the doctrine of the trinity, intends to give it us as it has been received in the christian church. And I think your words, viz; 'it is the sense of the christian church, which you are bound to defend, and the particular opinions of your own,' authorise one to think so. But if I am to own it, as your lordship has there delivered it, I must own that I do not understand; for I confess your exposition of the sense of the church wholly transcends my capacity.

"If you require me to own it with an implicit faith, I shall pay that deference as soon to your lordship's exposition of the doctrine of the church, as any one's. But if I must understand and know what I own, it is my misfortune, and I cannot deny, that I am far from owning what you in that discourse deliver, as I can be far from expressing the most unintelligible thing that ever I read, to be the doctrine I own. Whether I make more use of my poor understanding in the case, than you are willing to allow every one of your readers, I cannot tell; but such an understanding as God has given me, is the best I have, and that which I must use in the apprehending what others say, before I can own the truth of it; and for this there is no help that I know." *Works*, vol. iv. p. 198.

† Preface to Locke's *Works*, p. vii.

Letters on the Logos.\* And, indeed, many of Locke's interpretations, contained in the Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles, seem to be founded on the Arian hypothesis. This is particularly true of the passage referred to by Lardner, where Locke speaks of the spiritual part of Christ being derived from God "by a divine extraction," which plainly shows, that in his highest nature, he considered him a derived being, and consequently subordinate to the Deity. But this discussion is of little importance in the present connexion. It is enough, that Locke has always been accounted a unitarian, that his writings confirm this sentiment, and that no adequate evidence has been offered to the contrary.

We come next to the opinions of Watts, whom you seem peculiarly solicitous to rescue from the hands of unitarians. As the reasons you present for believing him to have "lived and died a trinitarian," are for the most part irrelevant to the purpose, it will be needless to examine them in detail. They may all be summed up in this one position; that, as he was once a trinitarian, he must always have been such. You have proved, beyond contradiction, what no one has ever denied, or doubted; namely, that Watts at one period of his life was zealous in the trinitarian faith, and wrote much in its favour. On this point there is no disagreement. But here you stop short. The only important thing in the argument is left untouched. It is believed, that

\* Lardner's Works, vol. xi. p. 116.

† See Locke's paraphrase and note on Romans i. 4. The note is as follows. "According to the spirit of holiness, is here manifestly opposed to, 'according to the flesh,' in the foregoing verse, and so must mean that more pure and spiritual part in him, which, by *divine extraction*, he had immediately from God."

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Watts changed his opinions during his lifetime, and at length went over to the unitarian faith. The reasons for this belief you have not disproved, nor even approached. All you have said, therefore, may be taken for granted, except your inferences; and with this concession, I will proceed, in few words, to state some of the facts, which confirm the unitarianism of Dr. Watts.\*

A letter is extant, which was written by the Rev. Samuel Merivale to Dr. Priestley, in which the sentiments of Dr. Lardner on the subject of Watts' opinions are expressed in the most unequivocal terms. In conversation with Mr. Merivale, as stated in the letter, this great man observed; "I think Dr. Watts never was an Arian, to his honour be it spoken. When he first wrote of the trinity, I reckon he believed three equal divine persons. But in the latter part of his life, for several years before his death, and before he was seized with an

\* It was not contrary to the christianity of Watts, to search for the truth, and change his opinions when he found them erroneous. He did not entangle himself with creeds of men's invention, nor promise to conform to a system of faith, as the only true explication of scripture. This, he knew, would be stopping at once the channel of inquiry, and giving perpetual currency to all the errors, which the folly, ignorance, and selfishness of men, have entailed upon the world.

"I thank God," said he, "that I have learned to retract my former sentiments, and change them, when upon stricter search and review they appear less agreeable to the divine standard of faith.

"It doth not belong to such poor, imperfect beings as we are, to remain for ever immoveable in all the same opinions, that we have once indulged, nor to stamp every sentiment with immortality. For a man to be obstinately tenacious of an old mistake, and incorrigibly fond of an obscure phrase or conception, because he has once admitted it, is the shame, and not the glory, of human nature."—*Preface to Dissertations relating to the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity*. Part II.

"How vain a presumption it is, with a pretence of divine authority, to impose mere human explications upon the consciences of men, and

imbecility of his faculties, he was a *unitarian*. How he came to be so, I cannot certainly say; but I think it was the result of his own meditations on the Scriptures. He was very desirous to promote that opinion, and wrote a great deal upon the subject."

After this conversation, Mr. Merivale, wishing to obtain further information respecting Watts' unpublished papers, wrote a letter of inquiry to Dr. Lardner, from whom he received the following reply;

"I question whether you have any where in print Dr. Watts' last thoughts upon the trinity. They were known to very few. My nephew, Neal, an understanding gentleman, was intimate with Dr. Watts, and often with the family where he lived. Sometimes in an evening, when they were alone, he would talk to his friends in the family, of his new thoughts concerning the person of Christ, and their great importance; and that, if he should be able to recommend them to the world, it would be the most considerable thing, that ever he performed. My nephew, therefore, came to me, and told me of it, and that the family was greatly concerned to hear him talk so much of the importance of these sentiments. I told my nephew, that Dr. Watts was right in saying

to forbid them all the sacred blessings of especial communion in the gospel, unless they testify their assent to such a particular hypothesis, or scheme of explication, which the imposers confess to be human, and yet impose it in their own prescribed form of words.

"The persons, who are guilty of this uncharitable practice, may consecrate their impositions, and their excommunications, with holy names, and call them pure zeal for the divinity of Christ; but I suspect it will be found in the great day, to deserve no better a character than a mistaken zeal for the honour of Christ, mingled, perhaps, with zeal for the divinity of their own notions."—*Essay on the true Importance of any human Schemes to explain the sacred Doctrines of the Trinity.* Sec. III.

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they were important, but I was of opinion that he was unable to recommend them to the public, because he had never been used to a proper way of reasoning on such a subject. So it proved. My nephew being executor, had the papers, and showed me some of them. Dr. Watts had written a good deal, but they were not fit to be published. *Dr. Watts' Last Thoughts were COMPLETELY UNITARIAN* \*\*

These facts are too plain and conclusive to need comment. They rest on the authority of Lardner, and they could not rest on a higher. He barely stated what he saw and knew. Prove Lardner to have been guilty of a deliberate falsehood, or mistaken in a case where he had every possible opportunity of knowing the truth, and you will invalidate his testimony. Till this be done, no one can rightfully refuse his assent to the position it establishes; which is, that the unpublished papers of Watts clearly showed him to have been a unitarian.

But we need not recur to unpublished writings. Enough may be found in print to convince us, that he was not a trinitarian, whatever else he may have been. In his *Solemn Address to the Deity* he speaks as follows;

"Dear and blessed God, hadst thou been pleased, in any one plain scripture, to have informed me which of the different opinions about the holy trinity, among the contending parties of christians, had been true, thou knowest with how much zeal, satisfaction and joy, my unbiassed heart would have opened itself to receive and embrace the divine discovery. Hadst thou told me plainly, in any single text, that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are three real distinct persons in the divine

\* See the whole of Mr. Merivale's Letter, in Belsham's Memoirs of Lindsey, p. 216.

nature, I had never suffered myself to be bewildered in so many doubts, nor embarrassed with so many strong fears of assenting to the mere inventions of men, instead of divine doctrine; but I should have humbly and immediately accepted thy words, so far as it was possible for me to understand them, as the only rule of my faith. Or hadst thou been pleased to express and include this proposition in the several scattered parts of thy book, from whence my reason and conscience might with ease find out, and with certainty infer this doctrine, I should have joyfully employed all my reasoning powers, with their utmost skill and activity, to have found out this inference, and engrafted it into my soul.

"But how can such weak creatures ever take in so strange, so difficult, and so abstruse a doctrine as this, in the explication and defence whereof, multitudes of men, even men of learning and piety, have lost themselves in infinite subtleties of disputes, and endless mazes of darkness. And can this strange and perplexing notion of three real persons going to make up one true God, be so necessary and so important a part of that christian doctrine, which, in the Old Testament and the New, is represented as so plain and so easy, even to the meanest understandings?"

Three things are obvious from these extracts. First, that Watts did not believe the trinity, as usually understood, to be "plainly taught in any single text;" secondly, that in his mind it was not so expressed in the Scriptures at large, as to be intelligible to "reason and conscience;" and thirdly, that the "strange and perplexing notion of three real persons going to make up one true God," is not a "necessary and important part of the christian doctrine," whatever may be thought of its reality. Is there a trinitarian of the present day, who

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will assent to either of these propositions? It was a favourite opinion at the council of Nice, and for many ages after, that the trinity was not contained in the Scriptures, but taught by tradition. It has never been known, however, that Dr. Watts had a partiality for traditions, or that it was common with him to believe in doctrines, which his "reason and conscience" could not find in the Scriptures.

Hear what he says in his *Faithful Inquiry*, respecting the word *person*, as applied to the three parts of the trinity.

"Those writers, who call the sacred three by the name of three *persons*, do not assert or maintain, that this very word or expression of three persons, is found in Scripture, nor is the word *person expressly applied to them all three*.

"A distinct person, in the full and proper sense of the word among men, must be a distinct spirit; for a distinct person requires at least another distinct consciousness, with another distinct will, which seems to infer another different spirit. *And surely the Deity is not made up of three such distinct and different spirits*.

"Besides, it is sufficiently evident, that in the language of Scripture, and in the writings of the Jewish nation, those things, which are not strictly and properly *persons*, are often represented in a personal manner, as Wisdom, Law, Righteousness, Charity. And, therefore, the Sacred Three may be called three persons, or at least *Three Scriptural Persons*, I hope, without offence, and without entering into the tedious, learned, and philosophical difficulties about the word person."<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> *Faithful Inquiry after the ancient and original Doctrine of the Trinity, taught by Christ and his Apostles*, p. 19, 20.

What is the import of these passages? Certainly not, that the Sacred Three are distinct, personal agents. They are not three beings, who have each a "distinct consciousness and will." That is, they are not distinct beings in any sense. They are "scriptural persons?" But what is a scriptural person? The writer has told us, that he understands by this term, the same as Wisdom, Law, Righteousness, when personified in the Scriptures. According to this sense, the three persons of the Deity are personifications of his modes of action. There is no spirit, or agent, distinct from the one true God. His unity is left untouched, and no unitarian would dissent from the substance of the views here taken.

In speaking further of the nature of Christ, Watts says, "This second person, this man Christ Jesus, has the true God united to him, or dwelling in him, in a peculiar manner; that is, the man Jesus Christ is assumed by the great God, into so near and intimate a union with himself, that they are often represented as one complex person, or personal agent. The man Jesus Christ is the inferiour agent or medium of the great God, who acteth whatsoever he pleases in and by the man Jesus Christ."\* These views, in every important respect, are those of unitarians. They believe, that "the man Jesus Christ was the inferiour agent or medium of the great God," that the union between them was "so near and intimate," that Christ spoke, and taught, and acted in exact conformity with the divine will, and that all he said has the same truth and authority, as if God himself had spoken. They believe, as well as Watts, that Christ was *inferiour* to the Deity, and acted in all things by divine influence, light, and strength.

\* *Ibid*, p. 24.

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Attend, also, to some remarks of Watts on the Holy Spirit. After intimating, that "the Holy Spirit in the New Testament, when it speaks of things after the ascension of Christ, very generally, or for the most part means, that *power or influence* of the eternal spirit of God, *which proceedeth from the Father*," he goes on to add,

"If the Holy Spirit were really a true and proper person, it would be as difficult to account for all these, and as many more expressions of scripture, which cannot possibly be ascribed to a proper person; and if in some places these impersonal expressions, or in other places the personal expressions, must be figurative, why may not my explication of them do as well as the contrary? And thus the spirit of God need *not any where be construed into a real, proper, distinct person.*

"I know not any place in scripture, which requires us to make express personal addresses, either of prayer, or of praise, unto the Spirit.

"Surely if praises or prayers were necessary to be offered distinctly to the Holy Spirit, 'tis very strange, that of all the writers of the New Testament, not one of them should give us some hint of it in precept, instruction, or example; but neither Matthew, Mark Luke nor John, Paul nor Peter, James nor Jude have left us any thing whence we can infer it."\*

Now, if there be any meaning in words, can we infer from this language, that Watts believed the Holy Spirit to be a distinct being, equal in power and duration to God the Father? On the contrary, could he express in more decided terms his disbelief of the personality of the Holy Spirit, or of the propriety of its receiving wor-

\* *Faithful Inquiry*, &c. p. 30, 32.

ship and praise? What kind of faith in the trinity is that, which rejects the separate personal existence, and the worship of the Holy Spirit? To call a man a trinitarian, with such a faith, is contradictory and absurd.

I am not attempting to exhibit a general system of Watts's theological opinions. In some respects they were peculiar, but these peculiarities are not concerned in the present discussion. I aim only to prove, that he was not a trinitarian, or that he did not believe in the existence of three equal, and separate persons, beings, agents, or essences, in the Deity. On the testimony of Lardner, and especially on Watts's own writings as quoted above, the argument may safely rest, without danger of being destroyed or weakened.

You refer to Watts's Psalms and Hymns, as testifying to his trinitarianism. Can you be ignorant of the fact, that he was desirous, long before his death, of suppressing or altering these, but was prevented by circumstances wholly beyond his control? He had sold the copyright, and could not recover it. This he states as the reason why he was compelled to desist from any attempt to make such alterations, as his change of sentiments would seem to require.\*

\* In writing to Mr. Tomkins, on the subject of his Hymns, Watts says, "I might tell you, that of all the books I have written, that particular copy is not mine. I sold it for a trifle to Mr. Lawrence, near thirty years ago, and his posterity make money of it to this day, and I can scarce claim a right to make any alteration in the book which would injure the sale of it."

Again, he replied to Mr. Grove, who suggested alterations, "that he should be glad to do it, but it was out of his power, for he had parted with the copy, and the bookseller would not suffer any such alteration." See *Monthly Repository*, vol. viii. p. 770, 771.

Many particulars respecting the theological opinions of Watts, may be seen in Belsham's *Memoir of Lindsey*, p. 216.—*Scriptures* in the *Month. Rep.* [vol. viii. pp. 683, 715, 768.] on a publication by Mr.

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With these short hints and extracts, I am willing to leave it to the judgment and candour of every impartial reader to decide, whether I committed a very heinous offence in placing even "the pious and heavenly minded Watts in such company," as that of Newton, Locke, Lardner, Whitby, Lindsey, and others of well known piety and excellence, and of similar theological sentiments.

I have now done with your Letter, although a very important part of the subject, which connects itself with the views you have taken, remains untouched. A partial examination only has been made of the moral influence and advantages of unitarianism, compared with calvinism. I propose to pursue the subject, particularly as it regards the trinity and atonement, and that I may not be obliged to go out of the track already commenced, I hope you will allow me to address to you two or three letters on these topics. My next will be on the practical influence of a belief in the trinity.

Yours

A UNITARIAN OF BALTIMORE.

Palmer, entitled, *Dr. Watts no Socinian*.—*Christian Disciple*, vol. ii. New Series, p. 451; and vol. iii. p. 190.—The whole of the *Solemn Address to the Deity* is contained in the *Christian Reformer*, vol. i. p. 113.

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vorher, nach der Revolution war er selten ohne einen Secretär seine Briefe, sobald sie geschrieben waren, in Briefbücher einzutragen. In späteren Lebensjahren gebrauchte er eine Abdruck-Pressen, und auf diese Art erhaltenen Abdrücke sind noch jetzt vorhanden, wie



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## UNITARIAN MISCELLANY.

It is the object of this work to set forth the doctrines, and inculcate the truths of the Christian religion, as they are usually understood by Unitarians.

It is published monthly in Baltimore, by the Baltimore Unitarian Book Society. Annual subscription, *one dollar and fifty cents.*

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Washington's Papers. 16

Impresso - 169 - 16 mar.

Washingtons  
hinterlassene Schriften,  
mit geschichtlichen Anmerkungen und Erläuterungen herausgegeben  
von  
Jared Sparks.

1666

Der Charakter und Werth von Washingtons hinterlassenen Schriften, sowie der Plan zu deren Herausgabe, erhellt aus dem folgenden Schreiben an Joseph Story, Mitglied des obersten Gerichtshofes der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika.

Mount Vernon, 4 May, 1827.

Werther Herr,

Nach einer zweymonatlichen anhaltenden Beschäftigung mit meiner Aufgabe, der Untersuchung von Washingtons Papieren, bin ich nunmehr im Stande, Ihnen von dem Umfange und Charakter der Papiere sowohl, als von meinem Vorhaben sie bekannt zu machen, einen vorläufigen Begriff zu geben. Sie sind bereits von meiner Uebereinkunft mit dem Obrichter Washington unterrichtet, nach welcher ich zu allen in den Archiven von Mount Vernon befindlichen, von General Washington hinterlassenen Papieren freyen Zutritt habe, und die für den Druck geeigneten Stücke dazu vorzubereiten befugt bin. Zu diesem Zweck habe ich mich bemüht, mir eine allgemeine Uebersicht der Materialien zu verschaffen und sie für künftige Untersuchung und Gebrauch zu ordnen. Von Jugend auf hatte Washington es sich zur Gewohnheit gemacht, Abschriften von allen seinen bedeutenden öffentlichen und Privat-Schreiben aufzubewahren. Dieß machte ihm vor der Revolution viele Mühe, da die Abschriften, selbst während der geschäftreichen Jahre seines Oberbefehls auf der Gränze von Virginien, meistens von seiner eigenen Hand waren; allein nach der Revolution war er selten ohne einen Secretär, der seine Briefe, sobald sie geschrieben waren, in Briefbücher eintrug. In späteren Lebensjahren gebrauchte er eine Abdruck-Pressen, und die auf diese Art erhaltenen Abdrücke sind noch jetzt vorhanden, wiewohl

dieselben Briefe größtentheils auch in Briefbüchern eingetragen und daher viele in Duplicaten aufbewahrt sind. Da er während seines langen, mit verschiedenartigen und höchst wichtigen Geschäften überhäuftens lebens diese Gewohnheit beibehielt, so läßt sich leicht einsehen, daß seine Papiere unter seinen Händen außerordentlich anwuchsen, und daß unter denselben nicht wenige Stücke sich befinden, welche eines besseren Schicksals werth sind, als von den Augen der Welt ausgeschlossen und in vergänglichem Handschriften aufbewahrt zu werden.

Die erste bedeutende schriftliche Urkunde von Washingtons Hand ist das Tagebuch von seiner Sendung nach den westlichen Theilen unseres Landes, welche er im Auftrage des Gouverneurs Dinwiddie ausführte. Dieses wurde damals sowohl hier als in England gedruckt, und fand vielen Beifall, da es von einer Besonnenheit und einem Unternehmungsgeist zeugte, der von einem zwanzigjährigen Jüngling sich nicht erwarten ließ. Schön mehrere Jahre vor diesem Zeitpunkt war er von Lord Fairfax mit der Vermessung der Gränzen beauftragt worden und hatte viele unangebaute Landstriche in den obern Grafschaften von Virginien, zu beiden Seiten des blauen Berges, vermessen. Diese Beschäftigung schien ihm besonders zu gefallen und sie ward ihm zuletzt von wesentlichem Nutzen; denn sie verschaffte ihm eine Kenntniß des Landes, das nachmals der Schauplatz seiner ersten Kriegsthaten werden sollte, und härtete ihn für Strapazen und Entbehrungen ab. Von einigen dieser Vermessungen giebt es noch jetzt Tagebücher und Bruchstücke von Tagebüchern in seiner eigenen Handschrift. Ein kleiner Band insbesondere enthält die Begebenheiten einer Reise dieser Art, nach den Alleghany Gebirgen, da Washington nicht mehr als sechzehn Jahre alt war. Ausser einem Tagbericht über die wichtigsten Ereignisse jedes Tages, enthält dieser Band sein Feldbuch, oder Skizzen von Vermessungen und Concepte von Briefen an seine Freunde.

Grosse, geschichtliche Bedeutung erhalten seine Papiere von der Zeit an, da er dem Feldzuge unter Braddock sich anschloß. Er war von dem Gefecht auf den grossen Wiesen bereits zurückgekehrt, und der Gouverneur von Virginien hatte ihn zum Befehlshaber einer Mannschaft ernannt, welche unverzüglich ausgehoben und nach den Gränzen gesandt werden sollte. Aber da die Versammlung auseinander gieng, ohne die zur Ausführung nöthigen Geldmittel angewiesen zu haben, so legte Washington seinen Befehl nieder und kehrte zu seinem Landgute zurück. Bald darauf landete Braddock in Vir-

ginien und lud ihn ein, seinem Generalstab als Freywilliger und Adjutant sich anzuschließen. Von diesem Zeitpuncte an, bis zum letzten Tage seiner Kriegsdienste in Virginien, sind seine Papiere vollständig aufbewahrt.

Diese Schreiben sind in Briefbüchern aufgezeichnet, aus welchen er sie jedesmal selbst abschrieb. Sie bestehen aus seinem Briefwechsel mit Gouverneur Dinwiddie, dem Sprecher des landtages von Virginien, dem Grafen von Loudon, General Forbes, Gouverneur Sharpe, Obersten Stanwix, Lord Fairfax, und den Officieren unter seinem Commando, wie auch mit seiner Mutter, seinen Brüdern und andern ihm befreundeten Privatpersonen.

Es findet sich dabey auch eine vollständige Abschrift von sämmtlichen Kriegsbefehlen, wie sie täglich vom General ergingen, von der Zeit seiner Ankunft in Virginien bis zu der entscheidenden Niederlage, wenige Tage ausgenommen, da Washington, durch ein Fieber abgehalten, seinen Dienst nicht versehen konnte. Nachdem er von diesem Feldzuge zurückgekehrt und zum Befehlshaber der virginischen Truppen ernannt worden war, sind seine Briefe, Befehle und Anordnungen sammt und sonders aufgezeichnet. Die ganze Sammlung macht vier Bände aus, und enthält nicht nur seine öffentlichen, sondern auch seine Privat-Schreiben, und liefert eine vollständige Geschichte der militärischen Operationen in welchen er thätig war. Welchen Werth Washington diesen Papieren beylegte, ergiebt sich aus dem Umstand, daß er mehrere Jahre nachher, durch Ausstreichen und Zwischen-schreiben, Verbesserungen in der Schreibart vornahm und sie sämmtlich aufs neue abschreiben ließ. Die so ausgebesserten Originalien sowohl, als die Abschriften sind erhalten.

Von dem Ende dieser Kriegsdienste bis zu den ersten Bewegungen der Revolution lebte Washington zurückgezogen in Mount Vernon, ohne sich mit öffentlichen Angelegenheiten abzugeben, ausgenommen einigemale als Mitglied des landtages von Virginien. Er widmete sich ganz der landwirthschaft auf seinen Gütern. Daher finden sich aus diesem Zeitraume von fünfzehn Jahren wenige Schriften von allgemeinem Werth und Interesse vor, ausser insofern sie über die Art seiner Geschäfte, sowie über die eigenthümliche Richtung seines Geistes und seine Denkart im Privatleben Aufschluß geben. Mehrere Bände, größtentheils in seiner eigenen Handschrift, gehören diesem Zeitraume an; sie enthalten Briefe an seine Handelscorrespondenten in London, Facturen von verschifften und bestellten Waaren, ein

Verzeichniß täglicher Einnahmen und Ausgaben, Hauptbücher, Briefe an Pächter und Geschäftsführer und ausführliche Aufzeichnung aller besonderen Umstände, die mit der persönlichen Verwaltung seiner weitläufigen Plantagen verbunden waren. Zu jener Zeit pflegten die südlichen Pflanzer ihre Producte unmittelbar nach den Märkten von London zu verschiffen, und von diesem Plaze ein oder zweymahl im Jahre, auf ausdrückliche Anweisung, alle für ihren Hausgebrauch nöthigen Güter zu importiren, und dergestalt zugleich als Landbauer und als Kaufleute thätig zu seyn. Auf diese Art betrieb auch Washington seine Geschäfte viele Jahre hindurch und seine Papiere werden zeigen, daß er sie mit einem Geschick und einer Aufmerksamkeit betrieb, welche beweist, daß er mit den verschiedenen Geschäftszweigen eben so genau vertraut, als in ihrer Versorgung thätig und sorgfältig war.

Wir kommen nunmehr zu den ersten Auftritten der Revolution, von welchem Zeitpunkt an beynahe jeder Tag aus Washingtons Leben geschichtliche Bedeutung hat; und es ist ein Glück, daß von da an die Urkunden der großen Begebenheiten, in welchen er eine so ausgezeichnete Rolle spielte, die Belege für seine Thaten, Ansichten und Beweggründe, zahlreich, wohl erhalten und mit seiner eigenen Hand verbürgt sind. Da das gemeine Beste sein einziger Zweck war, der ihm nicht erlaubte, etwas geheim zu halten, und da er wahrscheinlich vorausah, mit welcher Begierde die Nachwelt seinen Fußtapfen nachforschen und seine Thaten preisen würde, so schien seine gewohnte Vorsicht in Bewahrung aller Belege, welche auf irgend eine Art beytragen konnten, um seine Handlungsweise aller Welt darzulegen, sich mit der Verantwortlichkeit seines Standpunctes und der Größe seines Wirkungskreises zu vermehren. Wahrscheinlich wurde kein öffentliches Geschäft von ihm selbst oder mit seinem Rath und Gutheissen ausgeführt, wofür nicht seine Beweggründe und Absichten mit Leichtigkeit aus einem oder dem andern seiner Papiere aufzufinden wären; und so sorglos war er dießfalls gegen mögliche Entdeckungen durch neugieriges Spähen, daß er, wo nicht Umstände es als Klugheitsmaasregel für den Augenblick anriethen, sich keine weitere Mühe genommen zu haben scheint, Privat-Schreiben von den öffentlichen im engeren Sinne abzusondern. Welchen Standpunct ihm auch die Vorsehung angewiesen haben mochte, er hörte auf keine Warnung als die seines Gewissens, und suchte, von seinem rechtschaffenen Herzen allein geleitet, nie sein Betragen vor der strengsten Untersuchung der Menschen zu sichern, oder den geringsten Umstand, der einer treuen Erzählung seiner Handlungen zum Beleg dienen konnte, zurückzuhalten

oder zu bemänteln. Dieses edelste Kleinod in Washingtons Ruhm, diese strenge und ungetrübte Reinheit der Beweggründe, erhebt zugleich seinen Namen über jeden andern groß gepriesenen, ertheilt seinem geschichtlichen Charakter eine eigenthümliche Realitt und stempelt seine hinterlassenen Urkunden mit unauslöschlichen Kennzgen der Wahrheit. So wie kein anderes Land mit dem Helden, dem es seine nationale Selbstndigkeit und Gröe verdankt, so glcklich war, als das unsere, so kann sich auch keines mit solcher Sicherheit auf die erzhlten Thatfachen seiner jugendlichen Kmpfe und seines aufblhenden Ruhmes verlassen.

Washingtons Papiere von der Revolution sind alle in dicke Folio-bnde zusammengeschrieben, die zu vier und vierzig an der Zahl gestiegen und nach folgender Eintheilung geordnet sind.

1. Schreiben an den Congress der vereinigten Staaten; an die Ausschsse des Congresses; an die Amerikanischen Gesandten an fremden Hfen; an einzelne Mitglieder des Congresses in ihrem öffentlichen Charakter. Diese Abtheilung enthlt sieben Bnde.

2. Schreiben an Offiziere der Linie von jedem Rang; an Stabs-offiziere und Militr Personen aller Art. Sechzehn Bnde.

3. Schreiben an Versammlungen, Sicherheits- und Correspondenz-Ausschsse, an Gouverndre, Prsidenten und Mitglieder der vollziehenden Staatsgewalt, an Civil-Behrden und Brger jeden Standes. Fnf Bnde.

4. Schreiben an auswrtige Minister; an Individuen fremder Nationen, im unmittelbaren Dienste der vereinigten Staaten, aber nicht von dem Congress ange stellt; an sonstige fremde Beamte jeder Classe. Zwey Bnde.

5. Schreiben an Offiziere jeden Rangs und Titels im Dienste des Feindes; an Britische Unterthanen aller Stnde, auf der feindlichen Seite; an Personen die um die Erlaubni anhielten, in das feindliche Gebiet zu gehen. Ein Band.

6. Proceuren und Gutachten von Kriegsgerichten, Kriegsraths-Versammlungen; Gutachten der hheren Offiziere ber die verschiedenen Punkte, ber die sie hie und da vom Oberbefehlshaber zu Rathe gezogen wurden. Drey Bnde.

7. Vertrauter Briefwechsel whrend der Revolution, bestehend in Schreiben an Personen im Privatstande sowohl, als in öffentlichen mtern, aber ber ausseramtliche Gegenstnde. Drey Bnde.

8. Befehlswcher, enthaltend alle Armeebefehle, ausfhrlich eingetragen, von dem Tage an da er zu Cambridge den Oberbefehl ber

das Heer übernahm, bis da er es am Ende des Krieges zu Newburgh verließ. Sieben Bände.

Diese Bände sind sämmtlich mit einer bewundernswürdigen Genauigkeit geordnet und mit grosser Sorgfalt in einer gleichförmigen, schönen Handschrift abgeschrieben. Jede Abtheilung von Gegenständen ist in genauer chronologischer Ordnung zusammengestellt und jedem Bande ein reichhaltiges Inhaltsverzeichnis angehängt. Hieraus erhellt, daß von jedem Briefe und anderen Papiere, vom Beginn bis zum Ende der Revolution, zwey besondere Abschriften vorhanden sind. Die Originale oder ersten Abschriften, die von Washington für gelegentliche Nachweisungen während des Feldzugs aufbewahrt wurden und von welchen die obigen Bände zusammengeschrieben sind, befinden sich meist auf einzelnen Blättern; sie sind nun vollständig geordnet und mit solchen Aufschriften und Bezeichnungen versehen, daß jedes einzelne aus der ganzen Sammlung augenblicklich nachgesehen werden kann.

Als die Revolution beendet war, und Washington sich auf seine Güter zurückgezogen hatte, unterhielt er, wenngleich nun von Amtspflichten befreit, dennoch einen sehr lebhaften Briefwechsel mit ausgezeichneten Männern dieses Landes und in Europa, und dieß häufig über Gegenstände von hohem Interesse und Einfluß. Die Abschriften der Briefe von diesem Zeitraume bis zu seiner Annahme der Präsidentenwürde füllen sechs Foliobände. Kaum einige wenige von ihnen sind gedruckt, und sie können in manchen Beziehungen unter die schätzbarsten Stücke aus seiner Hinterlassenschaft gerechnet werden. Denn, obschon ihn seine landwirthschaftlichen Angelegenheiten anhaltend beschäftigten, und er von ganzen Schwärmen Gesellschaft, aus allen Theilen der vereinigten Staaten und aus der alten Welt, besucht wurde, behielt er sich doch seine Stunden vor, in denen er sich zurückzog, und wandte hier augenscheinlich nicht geringe Mühe auf die Briefe, die er an einen ausgebreiteten Kreis von Freunden und einige ausgezeichnete Ausländer schrieb, die einen Briefwechsel mit ihm gesucht hatten. Den hervorragenden Staatsmännern des Landes machte er wiederholt die Mängel der alten Conföderation bemerklich, beklagte die Uebel die Tag für Tag den Staatskörper mehr untergruben und von einem schlecht organisirten Regierungssysteme herrührten, mahnte alle dringend auf, Gegenmittel zu suchen und anzuwenden, um das Volk zum Gefühl seiner Gefahr aufzuregen und den denkenden Theil der Staatsgemeinde für kräftige Maasregeln zum Dämmen des einbrechenden Unglücks zu vereinigen, welches das schöne Gebäude der

Freiheit, mit einem so theuren Opfer von Blut und Schätzen erkaufte, wegzureissen drohte. Dieß war der beständige Inhalt seiner Briefe an diejenigen, denen das Gewicht ihres Charakters oder ihrer öffentlichen Stellung einen herrschenden Einfluß in die Hände gab, und man wird bey Bekanntmachung dieser Briefe sehen, daß Washingtons Thätigkeit im Vorbereiten und Bahnbrechen für die neue Verfassung weit wirksamer war, als gewöhnlich angenommen wird. Ein anderer Gegenstand, bei dem er oft mit augenscheinlicher Liebe verweilte, war die innere Verbesserung des Landes und besonders die Verbindung zwischen dem Osten und Westen zu Wasser. Sein Briefwechsel mit Jefferson und andern Männern über diesen Gegenstand ist voll von Belehrung, verbunden mit gesunden politischen Ansichten die seither von den Weisesten der Nation mit Erfolg benützt worden sind.

Bald nach dem Schlusse des Krieges besuchte er die Binnenseen von New York, und in einem seiner Briefe sagt er ausdrücklich voraus, daß die Zeit nicht ferne sey, in welcher man eine Wasserverbindung durch die westlichen Theile des Staates eröffnet sehen werde, und verbreitet sich über die Vortheile eines solchen Werkes. Kurz, es gab wenig oder keine Tagesangelegenheiten von einigem Interesse, die sich nicht mehr oder weniger in seinen Briefen berührt fänden, besonders solche die mit dem politischen Zustande des Landes und der Zukunft desselben in Beziehung standen.

Seine auswärtigen Correspondenten unterrichteten ihn über den Eindruck, den die amerikanischen Angelegenheiten in Europa hervorbrachten und unterhielten, so daß er sich in den Stand gesetzt sah, durch Mittheilung von Notizen und Berichtigung von Irrthümern nützlich zu werden. Die zahlreichen Briefe an Lafayette erhalten durch das warme Freundschaftsgefühl und die freundlichen Erinnerungen womit sie erfüllt sind, einen ungemeinen Reiz; und sein Briefwechsel mit Rochambeau, den Grafen d'Estaing und de Grasse, und anderen französischen Offizieren, mit denen er die Mühen des Kriegs und den Ruhm des Sieges getheilt hatte, ist für beyde Theile gleich ehrend, und reich an Nebenumständen, die noch heut zu Tage mit Vergnügen gelesen werden.

Folgendes sind die Namen einer nur sehr kleinen Anzahl von den Personen, mit welchen er während des oben genannten Zeitraums gewöhnlich correspondierte. In Amerika: Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Randolph, Patrick Henry, Jay, Knox, Lincoln, Moultrie, Clinton, Charles Carroll,



Benjamin Harrison, Humphreys, Gouverneur Morris, Grayson, George Mason, Arthur Lee, Boudinot, Robert Morris, Trumbull, Henry Lee, Marshall, Pinckney, Rutledge, Hopkinson, Thomas Johnson, Dr. Ramsay, General St. Clair, Baron Steuben. In Europa: Lafayette, Nothambeau, Graf d'Estaing, Graf de Grasse, Herzog von Lauzun, Ritter von Chastellux, Ritter de la Luzerne, Graf de Noailles, Marquis de la Rouiere, Graf von Moustier, Dumas, Don Diego Sardoqui, Graf von Florida Blanca, Paul Jones, Gräfin von Huntington, Mrs. Macaulay Graham, Arthur Young, Lord Fairfax, Dr. Gordon, Sir Edward Newingham, und zahlreiche andere.

Als Washington das schwierige Amt eines Präsidenten antrat, sah er sich natürlich genöthigt, einen Theil seiner Privatcorrespondenz aufzugeben; doch verschaffte ihm seine frühgebildete und durch lange Uebung zur Gewohnheit gewordene Zeitbenützung freye Stunden neben seinen öffentlichen Pflichten; und es fallen in die Jahre seiner Präsidial-Arbeiten sieben Bände eingetragener Brief-Copien, nebst vielen andern durch die Presse abgedruckten, die nicht in die Bücher eingetragen waren. Einmal die Woche in der Regel, manchmal öfter, schrieb er einen langen Brief an den Verwalter seiner Pflanzung, wovon er Prefabdruckte aufhob; auch unterhielt er mit Sir John Sinclair, Arthur Young, Mr. Anderson und andern, einen lebhaften Briefwechsel über landwirthschaftl. Seine Europäischen Correspondenten nahmen an Zahl eher zu, als ab; doch wurden seine Antworten kurz und förmlich, manche seinem Secretär überlassen. Es schien für sein ganzes Leben stehender Grundsatz bey ihm gewesen zu seyn, nie einen anständig geschriebenen Brief, welcher Art er übrigens seyn mochte, ohne eine, meist sehr bald gegebene, Antwort zu lassen.

Die Zahl der von allen Seiten an ihn eingegangenen Zuschriften über Gegenstände, die mit seinen eigenen Angelegenheiten in keiner Beziehung standen, würde unglaublich erscheinen, wenn sie nicht der Augenschein auswiese. Schreiben von Unglücklichen, die seine Mildthätigkeit ausprachen; von alten Soldaten und Soldatenwittwen mit Forderungen an die Regierung; Briefe mit Verbesserungsprojecten; unzählige Briefe aus Europa, die Aufschlüsse über die Vortheile der Auswanderung nach America verlangten und nach vermisten Verwandten oder Freunden sich erkundigten, die man in diesem Lande vermuthete—oder nach ländereyen oder anderm Eigenthum in einem der vereinigten Staaten; dieß sind nur einige der Veranlassungen über welche er beynahe täglich Zuschriften erhielt. Jedermann schien zu glauben, daß, wenn man über etwas Amerika betreffendes, oder

ring und andere Vorsteher von Geschäft's Departementen ; desgleichen die an Hamilton und Pinckney, aus den zwey letzten Jahren seines Lebens.

Mehrere Stücke aus dieser Abtheilung werden viele Anmerkungen nöthig machen, besonders die Schreiben an Gesandte und an die Mitglieder der Regierung. Diese enthalten manche Artikel, die einer weitern Erklärung bedürfen, als in den Briefen selbst enthalten ist ; jedoch kann diese oft aus den Antworten und andern Urkunden gezogen werden. Das oben erwähnte Journal über die Verhandlungen zwischen dem Präsidenten und den Staats-Behörden wird für denselben Endzweck zu Rathe gezogen werden, und eben so die amtliche Correspondenz während Washingtons Präsidentur, die sich in der Registratur des Staats-Secretärs befindet.

#### IV. Theil. Botschaften und Adressen.

In den ersten Jahren der neuen Regierung wurden die Mittheilungen des Präsidenten bey Eröffnung der Congress-Sitzungen Reden, und die nachher, bis zum Ende der Sitzungen gehaltenen, Botschaften (messages) genannt. Alle diese werden in den vierten Theil kommen, nebst den Proclamationen und einer Auswahl von einigen der besten Adressen oder vielmehr Beantwortungen von Adressen, die Washington in verschiedenen Perioden seines Lebens ausfertigte. Zu diesem Theile werden freye Zusätze als Anmerkungen geliefert werden. In Washingtons Charakter war einer der hervorstendsten practischen Züge die ausserordentliche Sorgfalt, mit der er, ehe er in Bezug auf irgend eine öffentliche Maßregel zur Handlung schritt, sich der Ansichten von Personen die sein Vertrauen besaßen, zu versichern suchte. Dieß war sein durchgängiges Verfahren bey der Armee, ein Verfahren, dem er wo möglich noch strenger anhieng, nachdem er an die Spitze der Verwaltung gestellt war. Selten wurde eine Rede oder Botschaft ausgearbeitet, ohne daß er vorher die Mitglieder des Kabinettes zu Rathe gezogen und ihre schriftlichen Gutachten von jedem einzeln verlangt hätte, sowohl in Betreff der auszuführenden Punkte selbst, als der Art ihrer Darstellung. Waren diese Gutachten verglichen, reiflich geprüft und abgewogen, dann pflegte er seine Botschaft aufzusetzen, wie es ihm sein, auf diese Art über die Sache klar gewordener Verstand eingab ; manchmal machte er von dem ihm Dargebotenen freyen Gebrauch, ein andermal zog er die Erzeugnisse seines eigenen Geistes vor. Es war jedoch Grundsatz bey ihm, das,

der Verwendung der Arbeiter und ihres vorsichgebrachten Werkes forderte. Ich habe einen Band durch die Presse copirter Briefe vor mir, die in einem Jahre, während er Präsident war, an seinen Verwalter und seine Aufseher geschrieben wurden. Einige derselben erstrecken sich auf mehrere Seiten und, im Ganzen genommen, kommt mehr als ein Brief auf die Woche. Sie sind von seiner eigenen Hand, gewöhnlich in regelmässigen schönen Zügen geschrieben und tragen jede Spur, daß sie im Ausdruck und Style eben so studiert waren, als irgend ein anderer seiner Aufträge. In manchen Fällen waren sie von ihm selber eingetragen und dann ins Reine abgeschrieben, ehe die Presscopien genommen waren. Dieß war seine Gewohnheit viele Jahre hindurch mitten unter der Last seiner amtlichen Sorgen. Noch habe ich eine merkwürdige landwirthschaftliche Schrift vor mir, datirt vom vierten Tage vor seinem Tode. Es ist ein Manuscript von etwa vier und zwanzig Folio Seiten, eng geschrieben, und enthält Vorschriften an seinen Verwalter, für den Anbau dreier Landgüter im nächsten Jahre. Jedes Gut war in Grundstücke abgetheilt, die aufgezählt sind. Die Schrift giebt eine sehr vollständige Anweisung, wie jedes Grundstück auf den dreß Gütern im folgenden Jahre zu bebauen sey, giebt die Saat-Arten an, nebst Bemerkungen über den Boden, die Producte früherer Jahre, sowie die Ergebnisse von früher gemachten Erfahrungen. Washington starb, wie Sie sich erinnern werden, in der Mitte Decembers, und dieß Schriftchen, augenscheinlich mit vieler Mühe und Ueberlegung aufgesetzt, lag bereits fertig, um beym Beginn des Jahres dem Verwalter eingehändigt zu werden, mit einem vorausgeschickten Briefe voll allgemeiner Belehrungen über die Wichtigkeit eines methodischen und vorausberechneten Verfahrens beym Landbau; ungeachtet er selber auf der Pflanzung anwesend zu seyn und tägliche Oberaufsicht zu führen gedachte.

Diese Umstände sind nur beyspielsweise angeführt; sie bezeichnen die Angewohnung und bedürfen keines weiteren Zusages. Eine Zeitlang hielt er sich ein landwirthschaftliches Tagebuch und beschäftigte sich mit Versuchen über Felderwirthschaft für eine gewisse Anzahl von Jahren, zeichnete die Getraide Arten für jedes Grundstück aus, und fügte Bemerkungen bey, über den verhältnißmässigen Ertrag verschiedener Fruchtarten in verschiedener Aufeinanderfolge. Er war sehr bemüht seine Höfe mit Vieh von der besten Zucht zu versehen und seine Felder waren mit seltenen und merkwürdigen Bäumen und Sträuchern geziert, die von verschiedenen Theilen der vereinigten Staaten und von fremden Gegenden gesammelt waren. Seine Correspondenz mit Sir John Sinclair, Anderson und Arthur

Young über den Landbau ist durch den Druck bekannt. Es ist nicht meine Absicht, unter diese Rubrik vieles für die Bekanntmachung auszulesen; aber solche Papiere sollen aufgenommen und solche Erläuterungen angehängt werden, welche dazu dienen können, den Charakter Washingtons, als Landwirth auf seinen Gütern, und seine Aufmerksamkeit für die niederen Angelegenheiten des Lebens darzustellen.

Hier komme ich zum Schlusse dessen, was ich mir vorgenommen hatte auseinanderzusetzen, und hoffe, diese Bemerkungen werden Ihnen eine so vollständige und genaue Schilderung von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande der Papiere des General Washingtons und der Art, wie sie für die Bekanntmachung vorbereitet werden sollen, an die Hand geben, als bey den mir selbst vorgesteckten Gränzen dieses Aufsazes nur irgend möglich war. Sie sehen ein, daß die Hauptaufgabe ist: eine solche Sammlung von Washingtons Papieren herauszugeben, die einer dauernden Stelle in der geschichtlichen Litteratur von Amerika würdig sey und der Nachwelt, in einem Werke vereinigt, die sprechendsten Denkmäler seines Charakters und seiner Thaten und die besten, von ihm selber gesammelten Früchte seines Geistes zu überliefern. Noch habe ich hinzuzusetzen, daß die Briefe, welche er empfing, einen größeren und wichtigeren Vorrath von Materialien bildet, als aus der beyläufigen Art wie ihrer hier erwähnt wird, geschlossen werden dürfte und daß sie mir für das ganze Werk eine sehr wesentliche Hülfe darbieten. Ihre Zahl beläuft sich auf mehr als zwanzig tausend, und der litterarische Werth von einem grossen Theile derselben ist von weit höherer Art, als gewöhnlich bey Briefen so gemischten Charakters der Fall ist; verhältnismässig nur wenige Personen schrieben an Washington über unbedeutende Gegenstände und wenige ohne mehr als gewöhnliche Sorgfalt auf Gedanken und Styl zu verwenden. Vermuthlich wird bald eine Auswahl dieser Briefe herausgegeben werden. Jeder Band des Werkes, von dem es sich hier handelt, wird wahrscheinlich einen Anhang erhalten, in welchem gelegentlich, Auszüge aus denselben eingebracht seyn werden. Es ist wohl unnöthig hier zu wiederholen, was Sie bereits wissen, daß der Obergerichter Marshall meine Unternehmung von ganzem Herzen billigt, und mit Rath und anderweitigem Beystande, den ihm seine vertraute Bekanntschaft mit den Papieren an die Hand giebt, begünstigen will.

Wie viele Bände das Werk enthalten werde, kann ich nicht mit Bestimmtheit voraussagen; indessen werden es vermuthlich nicht unter acht, noch über zwölf seyn; eine Zahl die, meiner Ansicht nach, mit dem oben ausgesprochenen Grundsaze übereinstimmt; nach welchem

es weder rathsam ist, eine so große Sammlung zu drucken, daß dadurch die Börse und Zeit des Lesers zu sehr in Anspruch genommen werden, noch so wenige derselben, daß Materialien von wesentlichem Gehalt ausgelassen werden müßten. Es ist meine Absicht daß der Druck schön und dem Gegenstande angemessen seyn soll. Die Bände werden in Octav, je einer, zwey, oder drey zusammen, herauskommen und in solchen Zwischenräumen als die Umstände schicklich machen werden.

Ein Werk, das auf solche Art die besten von Washingtons Schriften in sich begreift, mit litterarischer Genauigkeit ausgeführt und in der angegebenen Gestalt und Weise herausgegeben, wird, ich hoffe es, Ansprüche auf den allgemeinen Beyfall und liberale Unterstützung machen können.

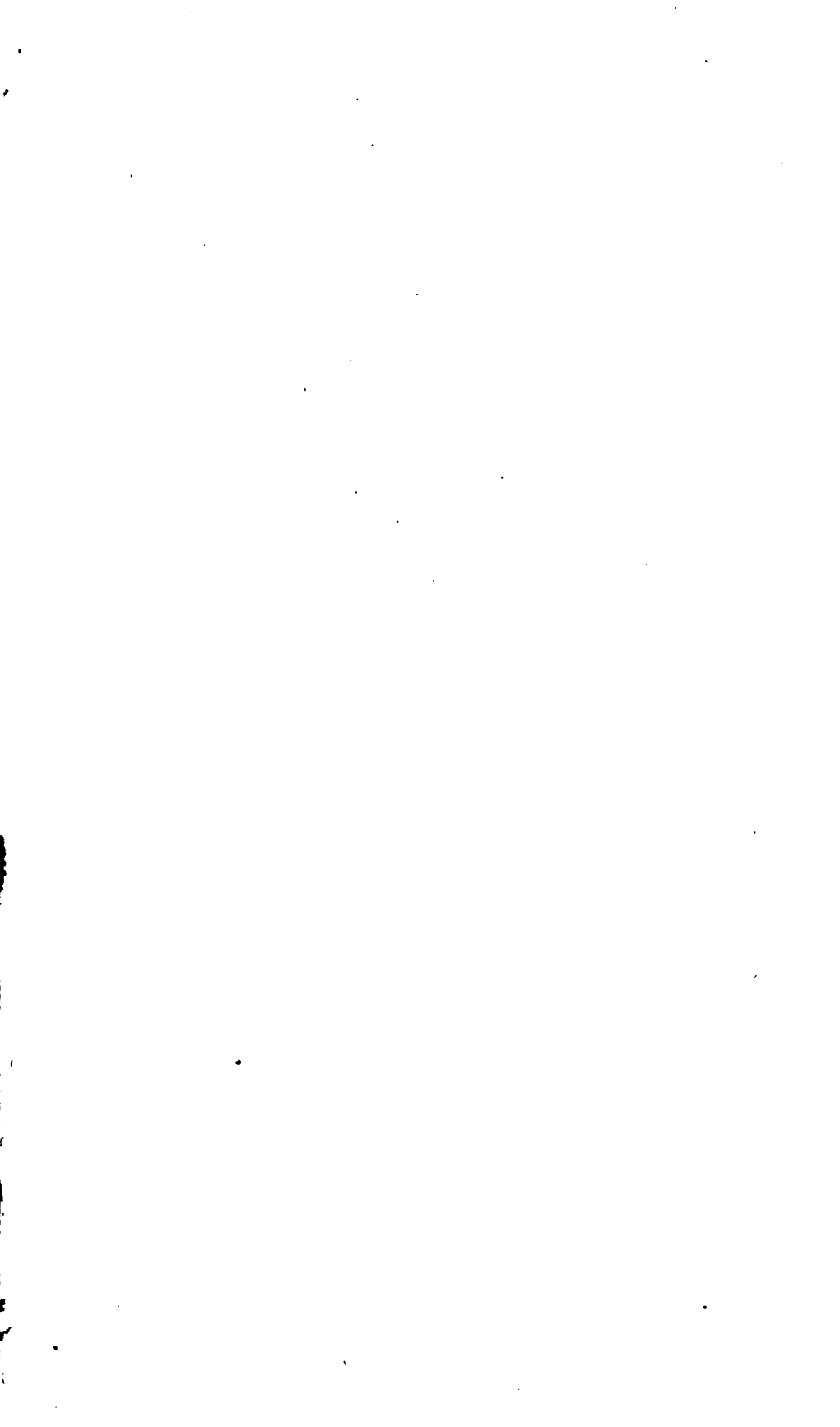
Ich bin, mein Herr, &c.

Jared Sparks.

Hon. Joseph Story.

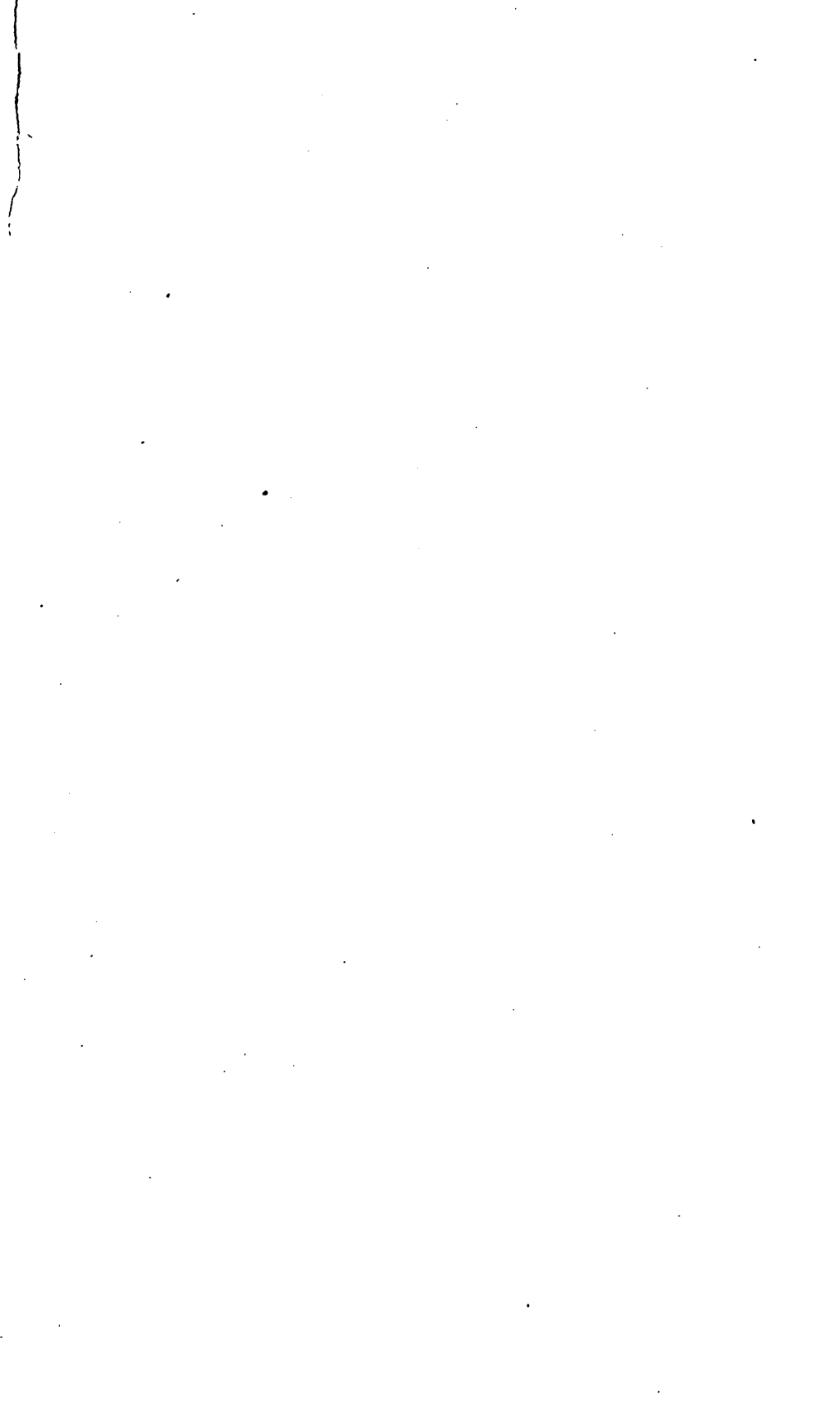
















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